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THE

# Growth of Christianity

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THE

# Growth of Christianity

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BY  
JOSEPH HENRY CROOKER

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CHICAGO:  
WESTERN UNITARIAN SUNDAY SCHOOL SOCIETY  
1897





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## QUESTIONS ON LESSON I.

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1. *Subject and Method of Study.*—What is Religion? And what is Christianity? What is the difference between a meteorite and a tree? Which is Christianity like? The title of this course of lessons? And what does “growth” always involve? What is that *Nile* illustration, and what does it illustrate? Is the Nile the standard of rivers? Is Christianity the standard of religions?

2. *The Mediterranean Cradle-land of Christianity.*—Draw a sketch of this Cradle-land, putting in the ten chief places named, and tell what each is noted for. Who were living in Northern Europe at this time? What two great influences were unifying the Mediterranean world at the Christian era? How did this unity prepare the way for a new religion?

3. *Contrasts.*—Which of the things that people did not have then would we miss most today? What did they have that still give pattern to us? The position of women then? Of organized philanthropy? Of science? The religion of the day: what were the human god, the demon terror, the altar worship, the omens? and what took the place of Sundays? The morals of the day: the two great inhumanities, what? and the two reigning evils? “If Christ came” from the Rome of that day to the Chicago of ours, would he say, “Greatly better”?

4. *Preparations.*—Still, “if Christ came to Chicago,” would he not find a preponderating mass of good? And what is likely of the people of *that* day, if they were almost ready to welcome his religion? What signs showed, like swelling buds on the trees, that a moral and religious Spring was near? Try specially to find out a little about (1) the “friendly societies” that covered the land. (2) the “mysteries,” and (3) such philosophers as Plato and Epictetus. And then sum up the “preparations” of the world-field for Christianity, as Mr. Crooker does,

# The Growth of Christianity.

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First Period: The Young Church: A.D. 30—  
A. D. 430.

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## LESSON I.

The World Into which Christianity Came.

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Suggestion to teachers:—This lesson may be made interesting to the younger classes by describing brief but graphic incidents in connection with the persons and places mentioned.

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### I. SUBJECT AND METHOD OF STUDY.

The subject of our study is the growth of that religion which we call Christianity, and our method will be that known as the scientific, namely: the patient use of reason to find the facts and discover the laws which they reveal. We look upon religion as that part of human life which relates to the thought and worship of God, to the hope of immortality, and to the motives and ideals of conduct. It includes especially the sentiments and activities which cluster about the two great words, reverence and righteousness. We hold that this part of our life, while very precious and important, is just as natural as those other parts which are sometimes called secular, and indicated by the words art, literature and government. These different elements are all phases, or factors, of the one human life, all equally products of human

nature, all in a sense divine, and all intimately related, each influencing the others and also influenced in turn by them.

In Christianity we have one of the great religions of the world, not something apart from human history, not a meteorite let down from heaven, but a religious life—one of the trees of the Lord—growing naturally out of historic conditions and unfolding by the same general laws and forces which have operated in the production of Judaism, Islam and Buddhism. Just as the people living in Egypt once thought the Nile an especially divine river, coming, unlike other rivers, directly from God, so people have looked upon their own religion as peculiarly divine. But we find that the Nile is as natural as all other rivers, though somewhat unlike them; so also, Christianity, while superior in many ways to other religions, is just as natural. It is the product of human nature like all the others,—not human nature lost to God, but under divine education. In its unfolding, as in the history of other faiths, it has changed from age to age in obedience to historical conditions; through it divine influences have operated, while errors have also been present. In many respects it has been grandly original, inspiring sublime lives and producing beautiful graces, but other faiths have borne these fruits; and its originality is no greater and no more an evidence of miraculous character, than the originality of Greek art or Roman law.

We purpose, then, to study Christianity as a purely natural movement in the realm of religion, but none the less precious or divine



because natural. Its beliefs, forms, and activities, which grew out of the conditions which existed before its rise, are a part of the general history of mankind, to be investigated and judged by the free reason. We are to examine all these matters, not as finalities to be approached with superstitious awe, and yet we must look upon them with respect and appreciation. We want to know what Christians, in various ages, have believed and done, accepting all that wins our reason and conscience, but freely condemning what has been wrong and rejecting what seems erroneous. We shall search for the precise facts, without any attempt to make Christianity seem at any time other than what it really was. Whatever its faith may have been, in apostolic or other ages, we will appropriate all that seems good and true in it, but we shall not feel obliged to use it as a standard of authority.

## II. THE MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES.

Let us open the geography and look at the countries about the Mediterranean Sea as they existed at the rise of the Christian church, for this will give us some idea of the field into which Christianity came. The eye rests first on Palestine at its eastern end,—little Nazareth in the north, from which Jesus went forth to preach his glorious gospel; and in the south, Jerusalem, then a large walled city, associated with the memories of David and Solomon, where Jesus was crucified and the young church cradled. To the southwest, we see Egypt with its ancient pyramids and numerous cities, closely con-



nected with the subject of our study; for, according to tradition, Moses led the Israelites out from bondage in that land, while in one of its cities, which remains, Alexandria, we find the meeting point of Hebrew piety and Greek philosophy, where Judaism put off its narrowness and the Christian church began to make its theology. To the north are two cities which played an important part in early Christianity—Damascus, connected with Paul's conversion, and Antioch, where the disciples were first called Christians.

Going around the corner of the great sea, westward, we come to the cities of Asia Minor, important centers of early Christian activity and mentioned in the introduction of that strange writing, Revelation,—Ephesus, Smyrna, Laodicea, and others. Westward across the Ægean we find ourselves in classic Greece, where Athens represents to us the blossom time of art, literature and philosophy,—a city rich in the memories of such men as Socrates, Plato and Aristotle; Aristides, Pericles and Phidias; Demosthenes, Euripides and Herodotus. Then still westward, across another arm of the great sea, we reach Italy, where the eye at once rests on Rome, at that time the city of the Cæsars, now the city of the popes, never for a moment to drop out of sight in this story of the Christian church. Looking carefully, we find that one great city which played an important part in early Christianity has disappeared,—Carthage, on the African coast, nearly south of Rome, and for years its rival and antagonist. One great metropolis has been added to those regions since the rise of

Christianity—Constantinople, built by the Bosphorus on the site of ancient Byzantium, and given the name of the first Christian emperor, and so a reminder of the changes made in the map of those lands by the new faith, though now the home of Islam, its greatest foe. In the far north, we see the dim outlines of great masses of strange peoples—afterwards known as Goths, Franks, Saxons, Germans,—who since that day have played a mighty part, not only in the making of new nations but in the remaking of Christianity.

As we look at the map of those Mediterranean countries, there are some very important facts which we must call to mind. Over all those eastern lands, especially, the Greek language had spread, carrying everywhere a great leaven by giving some knowledge of Greek customs, institutions, literature and philosophy. It is due to this fact that our New Testament is written in Greek, that the Old Testament used by the early church was a Greek translation,—the Septuagint, while the problems discussed by the first leaders of Christian thought were suggested, as we shall see, by Greek philosophy. One other fact we must remember: For a century, Rome had been rapidly extending its power over all those countries, not only by the force of arms, but by the order and justice of its management of public affairs. Roman soldiers kept the peace. Local religions were respected, but a Roman governor spread over every province the network of a marvelous administration. Magistrates, with great tact and acumen, made traditional cus-

toms yield to the superior principles of Roman jurisprudence. These influences had brought about a great intermingling of these numerous peoples. Traveling increased, commerce expanded, prejudices were worn away, a general enrichment of human life began, a cosmopolitan spirit showed itself, a new sense of the unity of humanity appeared. A broad platform was being erected on which a new and universal religion could be built.

### III. CONDITIONS AND CONTRASTS OF HUMAN LIFE.

If we could be put back into those ancient countries as they existed in the days of Jesus and Paul, what a strange world it would seem! Soldiers without firearms, fighting with spears and battering rams. No steamships, but boats with sails and oars; keeping as a rule in sight of land, for they had no compass. No steam cars, but horses the swiftest means of travel, the imperial express making at best about a hundred miles a day. No telegraph nor telephone; no photographs nor printed books; no daily mail nor morning paper; no stoves nor gaslight; no thermometers nor eye-glasses; no friction matches nor steel pens! A thousand other utilities and comforts which we possess they did not have. And yet, in some things they were not so much unlike us: the rich enjoyed great luxuries of dress and food, also fine houses and exciting amusements. There were spacious and splendid public buildings,—monuments and statues,—which, in their ruins, astonish and delight us. In their schools, markets, and courts,—though they had no trial by jury,—they seem nearest to us; while many

of the writings which we most highly prize were common property to them, those of Homer and Plato, of Cicero and Virgil.

Some of the social customs and religious practices make them seem a very curious and distant people. Women did not then move about freely in the public places as with us; nor were social gatherings of both men and women common as today. There was no universal suffrage, nor organized efforts to repress intemperance and relieve suffering. The wisest of those people, and many persons of great intellectual power lived in those days, knew nothing of the story of the hills as told by geology, nor of the mechanism of the heavens as described by astronomy. They had no clear or positive knowledge of such great facts as the circulation of their own blood, the shape of the earth, or the character of the atmosphere. They had no regularly recurring rest day, like our Sunday (except the few Jews), but rather great festival days marking the seasons, celebrating national events, or paying honor to the gods. What in their ways and beliefs seem strangest and most revolting to us were these things: The holding of slaves, a sin from which we have only recently freed ourselves; the gladiatorial shows in the arena, so horribly inhuman; the universal belief in demons, creating terrible fears; the appeal to omens—in the flight of birds and the appearance of the entrails of animals—to discover the will of God; the innumerable altars steaming with the blood of victims offered to some deity; the divine honors paid to the emperor, which do not look so strange when

we think of the reverence now given the pope.

#### IV. PREPARATIONS FOR A NEW RELIGION.

Surely these things were no preparation for the religious movement which we call Christianity! But we must remember that there was another side to that ancient world. A great amount of sensuality, cruelty and corruption existed among certain classes, especially in the cities, as at present. But we must not paint the picture too black. There were also a great many pure and happy homes, where husband and wife were true to each other, where children were tenderly reared. There too were many people who looked with disfavor and disgust upon omens, idols, and sacrifices; who condemned the bloody arena and pitied the slaves; for they believed in righteousness, in immortality, in God as Infinite Goodness. They were not grouped together in churches, but, living here and there, they led quiet, virtuous, honorable lives. There were many officials who were humane and incorruptible, and they labored diligently to have justice done. For a long time, a new spirit of humanity had been spreading through all ranks of society. The sanctity of man as a man began to be felt. New efforts for kindness, mercy, and justice appeared; the conviction grew here and there that the true worship of God is purity of heart. Fraternal organizations were rapidly multiplying. Men, and even women, associated themselves together in dining, literary, and benevolent clubs, all of which led to a great equalizing and enrich-



ing of human life. Many agencies were working toward a nobler thought of God and a holier ideal of manhood. Of these we may mention the following: The wide study of the dialogues of Plato, the ethics of Aristotle, the writings of Cicero; the earnest teachings of the philosophers who traveled about and sowed the seeds of a nobler life; the *Mysteries*, such as those at Eleusis—secret initiations—where people were deeply impressed with the great truths of moral responsibility, of Divine Providence, of the Immortal Life.

It is true that terrible vices and horrible cruelties abounded, but there were also other and nobler influences at work, and in every corner good people lived and tried to make the world better. And all this was a preparation for Christianity, not miraculous but natural, the making of a more genial, spiritual climate in which a new religion could grow. We can trace a similar work of preparation before the rise of Buddhism in India and Islam in Arabia. And those people with pure lives and true thoughts of God showed that a new religious movement was at hand, as the swelling buds on the trees prove that spring has come. When they heard the gospel, they gladly accepted it. And as they clustered about the name of Jesus, and ripened to nobler things in the sunshine of his love, Christianity began to be. So that we may briefly name these as the preparations in the world at large for the new faith:

(1) The spread of the Greek language

and the many humanizing influences which went along with it.

(2) The extension of Roman civilization, which established peace and produced a sense of unity.

(3) On the one hand, a reaction had occurred against the myths and idolatries of the old religions when brought into comparison and viewed in the light of larger knowledge; and on the other, a revulsion of feeling had grown up against the cruelties and debaucheries of the age.

(4) We note in those years the growth of a new moral sentiment in favor of juster and humaner conduct, brought about by philosophical studies (the influence of the Stoics was especially strong and pure) and by the free play of human experience in a very wide field of action.

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See Allen, *Christian History*, vol. I., chap. iv., for a brief but graphic sketch of some of these facts; Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, vol. I., chaps. i.-iii. gives a vivid picture with details of a little later period; Baur, *Church History*, vol. I., pp. 1-44, describes the influences at work in a masterly manner; Dyer, *The Gods in Greece*, introductory chapters, introduces us to the better side of the old religion; Hatch, *Influences of Greek Ideas and Usages—Hibbert Lectures*, 1888, chaps. i. and vi., describes the moral and spiritual conditions of the time; Hatch, *Organization of the Early Churches*, chap. i., defines very clearly the true spirit and method of study.



## QUESTIONS ON LESSON II.

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1. *The Seed Perfecting.*—So the world-field was ready for the sowing (last Lesson); now for the seed—where had it been growing, perfecting, through the centuries? In God's schooling of the Hebrew People, there were five school-grades: what did they learn in each grade?

- (1) From the Prophets?
- (2) From the Captivity—its double discipline?
- (3) From the Synagogue?
- (4) From the two new Race-Teachers?
- (5) In the Dispersion—its two results?

2. *The Master and his Message.*—How was Jesus a child of the Synagogue? The thing he *did*,—what was his message, his gospel? The being he *was*, the man behind the word,—can that be explained? Did he think himself the Jewish "Messiah"? Why could neither Jewish Rabbi nor Greek Stoic do what he did?

3. *The First Church at Jerusalem.*—What was its distinguishing belief, separating the believers from the Jews? Describe the life in the little church. What did its gospel add to Jesus' gospel? How was it organized?

4. *Paul's New Departure.*—Who in this church was Paul's forerunner, and what was his fate? Paul's new view of Jesus and his mission,—what was it? And his new view of Jesus' death and its effect? How did these new ideas make Paul "a great Apostle of Liberty"? Liberty from what, into what, and for whom? So Paul, too, had a gospel,—what did it, in turn, add to that of the First Church at Jerusalem? The Pauline mission churches—describe the worship and the life in them.

## LESSON II.

### The Apostolic Church.

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Suggestion to teachers:—Much of this material may be presented picturesquely to children by weaving it about the names: Hillel, Jesus, Paul.

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#### I. THE WORLD OUT OF WHICH CHRISTIANITY CAME.

We now ask: What new seed was sown on the great world-field and out of what stock did it ripen? What fresh impulse did Christianity carry through those Mediterranean countries; and how and where did it originate? To answer these questions we must attend to certain great facts. The Hebrews, whose story is familiar to us, had been living in Palestine some centuries and had produced leaders like Samuel, David and Solomon, when, over two hundred years after the latter and over seven hundred years before our era, a great religious movement began in the midst of them, headed by prophets, or religious teachers, like Amos, Micah and Isaiah. These prophets spoke severely against idols and sacrifices, and taught that God is one infinite and holy being who simply demands of mankind reverence and righteousness. They were great reformers, who put their chief emphasis on the necessity of a pure, just and merciful life. Along with their faith in Jehovah and desire for holiness of life, they cherished the bright hope that a day of the Lord would come when Israel would be exalted as a people, and justice and mercy would fill the earth. And this



expectation, sometimes associated with a personal agent or ruler, but more often not, we have come to call the Messianic Hope. They did a great work, but found it hard to carry all their people with them in their new thoughts of God and human life.

About 600 B. C., Nebuchadnezzar overran the country, took Jerusalem, and transported many of the best families to the neighborhood of Babylon, five hundred miles east, the London of that time, where they lived in a colony. Here they were at school for over two generations, and a great change took place among them. In this winnowing and enriching discipline, they became extreme Puritans, forever abandoning idols and all thoughts of other gods beside Jehovah. They were closely knit together by their reaction against the vice and idolatry which surrounded them, while they were educated by the arts and sciences of the cultivated Babylonians.

When they went back as Jews to the land of their fathers in Palestine, they were a new people; and though they built another temple at Jerusalem, yet they planted in the towns and villages another institution, the synagogue, which became, more and more, the real center of their religious life. Here was something new in the religious world: the home of an educational and spiritual rather than a sacrificial form of religion; no outward altar, no slain victim, but the reading of scripture, spiritual prayers and addresses full of heart experience about God, Duty and Destiny. It represented a moral and spiritual administration of religion. Here was a service of God that meant train-

ing in reverence and righteousness. The synagogue was church, school-house, court and center of charities.

On for two centuries, the Jews were part of the Persian Empire, and while their spiritual life was unfolding in the synagogue, the influences of the Persian religion, especially noble in its moral ideal and immortal hope, were enriching their lives. Then the Greeks became their masters, and, for two more centuries, another group of influences, working along humane and scientific lines, played upon them. Here then was a remarkable people, with a great natural gift or genius for religion, receiving successive race-trainings from three of the greatest peoples of antiquity: Babylonians, Persians and Greeks. All this enriched them like the study of an American student at a German university.

About this time, another movement of great importance began, what is called the Dispersion. The Jews began to settle in the great cities abroad, Alexandria, Rome and others, and wherever they settled they were stimulated by the life surrounding them, while they became the source of new influences in those communities. These results followed: The Jewish synagogue abroad became more humane and catholic in spirit, and this new life made itself felt among the Jews at home. Also, those affiliated centers of religious life abroad, beside educating the great world in their direction, would serve as receptacles into which a new movement could enter and from which it might spread. Thus the synagogue, as an educational rather than a sacri-

ficial form of religion, provided a home in which the noble teachings of the prophets could grow and fruit. It was an open sphere where living experience could find expression. It was a wide open door through which all these quickening foreign influences could play to enrich without destroying the Jewish faith.

## II. THE MASTER AND HIS MESSAGE.

Out of the synagogues, so situated, would surely come, some day, a great religious genius, who, while gathering up in himself and carrying to perfection all these elements just mentioned, would add the original quality of a sublime personality. In the fulness of time, that result appeared in Jesus of Nazareth, the child of the synagogue, nurtured on its prophetic ideal, speaking its ripened spiritual aspiration, winning his disciples from its members, who, in turn, clustered about him in a similar organization, only broader and more spiritual. What he did was to break the husk, liberate the hidden life and add his own transcendent personal influence. Jesus, after having been long hidden out of sight behind dogma and rite, has in modern times been rediscovered by attending to the facts and reading the Gospels in a free spirit.

We find that Jesus was a sublime soul, who took a fresh view of life, and saw that the kingdom of heaven is Inner Life: purity its condition, love its motive, service its method,—all comprehended in the two phrases, the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. He did not consider

himself a sacrifice to God, but the servant of man. He exercised and still exercises a vast influence over mankind by the freshness and spirituality of his teaching, by the purity and loveliness of his character. He seems to have had a larger capacity than other exceptionally gifted persons in healing the distracted and reforming the vicious. The story of what Pinel did with the insane probably illustrates a similar power.

Just how Jesus connected himself with the Messianic Hope, or how he explained it, we cannot tell. Some Jews expected a great national Deliverer, others looked only for the final triumph of faith in the one true God, and the peace and purity which would accompany it. Jesus evidently felt that the Messianic expectation was, or would be, realized in himself and his work; and belief in him as the Messiah set him on a throne of power. But deeper than all this was the immense moral force of his personality and the life-giving character of his message, which had the simplicity, the directness and the earnestness that make it a *gospel*, or glad tidings. It brings God near as a loving Father who only asks repentance, forgiveness and righteousness. It places our fellow man beside us as a brother to be loved and served. It brushes aside all vexatious rites and problems and liberates the soul from bondage by declaring: Live a true life from the heart out. That is all that God requires and all that man needs.

Many of Jesus's teachings were not especially original. Rabbis and Stoics had said similar things about God and human life.

And while he was indebted to his inheritance and environment, yet no one else had so lived and taught as to make himself and message a religious movement. The rabbis had neither the freedom from tradition nor the personal qualities; the Stoics had neither the spiritual feeling nor the help of a religious impulse like the Messianic Hope, or a religious organism like the synagogue. What we call Christianity, the seed which was broadcast over the ancient world, was in its very kernel the influence and gospel of Jesus. The religious conditions of his people made it possible for a religious movement to spread from him, while the situation of the Roman Empire made it possible for that movement to spread abroad and grow into a network of churches.

### III. THE FIRST CHURCH.

After the crucifixion of Jesus, his friends came to believe that he was alive at the right hand of God in heaven; and that he would shortly reappear and complete his work as the Messiah, "turning away every one from his iniquities." Just what the resurrection meant to the disciples at first or just what occurred to give them this belief, we cannot now tell, for the accounts are conflicting, and many things reported in the Gospels represent what came to be believed years afterwards rather than what really happened. But it is clear that they did believe that he had been raised from the dead and clothed with power by the right hand of God; and this belief held them together in bright hopes, loving memories and a supreme courage.



But their belief that Jesus was still alive was not in itself so very strange or unique; the disciples of other great teachers have held a similar faith respecting their beloved leaders. And though indispensable at the time, this belief was not the heart of Christianity; it had its disadvantages, making them watchers for his return rather than workers for the kingdom. These friends clung together in a sort of a temporary communal life, in a constant state of excitement and expectation, joyous and ecstatic, worshiping in the temple like other Jews and differing from them chiefly in the belief that Jesus was the promised Messiah. They broke bread in memory of the Last Supper, baptized converts in the name of Jesus, and preached the gospel.

And what was this gospel? That Jesus was a holy prophet like Moses, sent to lead the people to repentance and forgiveness (that they did not consider Jesus himself God is evident from the fact that they still went to the temple to worship); that he had been raised from the dead and would shortly reappear to destroy the ungodly and establish righteousness; and that all must repent of their sins and live according to those teachings which we find in the sermon on the mount. That is, they repeated the gospel of Jesus and added to it belief in his Messiahship and resurrection. At first they had no special forms or definite organization, as Jesus had done nothing apparently to create a religious establishment. His own brothers and the apostles seem to have acted as leaders; and, prompted by the necessities of the case, they soon set apart

seven men as *deacons* to take care of the tables at the common meal and distribute alms. (See Acts II. 22, VI. 5.)

#### IV. PAUL'S NEW DEPARTURE.

These friends of Jesus held in their hands greater treasures than they knew. Jesus did represent a power capable of making the earth new, but in a far different fashion than they imagined. They little appreciated the greatness of his gospel; they little understood what its central principle implied. Finally, one of their number, Stephen, broadened probably with a touch of Greek cultivation, did see something of this,—that if Jesus's teachings be true, then the Jewish forms, especially the temple worship, should be set aside. The preaching of this doctrine by Stephen brought down the wrath of the priests and involved the new movement in a persecution, which scattered the disciples abroad, shook them loose from their attachment to Jerusalem, and also broadened their views and methods.

And right here we come into contact with Paul, who carried this liberating work on mightily from this point and did what none of the others were inclined to do. The original disciples had seen no special meaning in Jesus's death, but Paul, to accept Jesus as the Messiah at all, had to reinterpret his crucifixion and make it central in his thought. Out of experiences which we cannot trace or explain, Paul came to look upon Jesus as something more than a Jewish Messiah; he brought him into connection with his theory of human nature and human history. He

said: Man needs a new element to enable him to live in the spirit, superior to the flesh, free from sin. Jesus is the new Adam from heaven who brings to hand that spiritual element to perfect humanity; and by faith we can appropriate it, becoming new creatures in him. Human history receives its explanation and consummation in Jesus; in him we find what human life from the beginning was meant to be; what it can be if we accept him and live in him.

To Paul, Jesus's death on the cross was the point where all this was completed: By dying there and rising again he triumphed over the flesh and the devil; he brought the new life-energy, the spirit, into touch with man; and he displayed a method of self-sacrifice by which, with his help, all men can complete the same process in themselves, dying to sin to live unto God. Looking at the cross from the plane of human necessity, he saw in Jesus a perfect and universal means to righteousness, to peace with God—this was his "gospel of the cross." And in view of all this the Levitical law now came to an end; the thing it foreshadowed was accomplished. All people can now come into the church on an equal footing and be free from all the old ordinances. In this way Paul became a great Apostle of Liberty, taking Christianity out of its narrow Jewish sanctum and making it at once a spiritual faith and a universal religion free to all. This was something more than what Jesus had taught; no such views of human nature or his own death are found in his message; and yet Paul carried out the Master's general

idea of life better than the Jerusalem disciples. By his spiritual insight he freed Jesus's gospel from its Judaic limitations and set it on the platform of the world as a universal religion, while by his mighty enthusiasm and activity as a missionary he carried the influence and teaching of Jesus into many lands. The earlier disciples protested; there was conflict and bitterness; but Paul's broader interpretation won the day.

At the end of a generation from the crucifixion, the followers of Jesus, called Christians, existing as little groups or churches in many cities of the Roman Empire, constituted a new religious movement. The love of Jesus and desire to live like him was their binding and inspiring motive. Baptism in his name, as evidence of discipleship, and a common meal of thanksgiving in his remembrance were their simple forms. Their worship on the Sabbath and the Lord's day following (our Sunday), included prayer, song and preaching—all as yet informal and spontaneous. Their supreme desire was to live in holy fashion, apart from the world, with trust in God the Father and in hope of immortal life, loving one another, helping the poor, serving the distressed and sorrowing. And it was their firm conviction that Jesus would soon return and set up the kingdom of heaven on earth.

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See Allen, *Christian History*, vol. I, chaps. I, II., for a general view of these topics; the transition from Judaism to Christianity is ably treated by Toy, *Judaism and Christianity*, pp. 415-431; the best Jewish ethics of the time may be found in Taylor, *Jewish Fathers*; Schuerer, *Jewish People*, Div. II., vol. II., § 27, describes the synagogues; Weizsacker, *Apostolic Age*, vol. I., chaps. I-III, gives the freshest discussion of the early church; my little book, "Jesus Brought Back," chaps. III-IV., may be found helpful.



## QUESTIONS ON LESSON III.

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1. *The Underground Church.*—How long was Paul a sower of the seed? How and when did he probably die? What happens to planted seed? How long did this underground growth of Christianity continue? What kept it underground so long? How many persecutions were there in this period? What can you tell about the Catacombs? (See Cyclopædia.)

2. *How the Faith Spread.*—What was usually the mother-church of a Christian church? What had the mother and child in common, and what was new to the child? What was the Bible of these early churches?

3. *Records of the Young Churches.*—What picture-records remain of this underground period? How was Jesus pictured on those old walls? What written records remain? Name the Gospels in their probable time-order. How did they gradually reach their present shape—through what four stages? Which Gospel shows the changing thought concerning Jesus? and what was the new idea? What was the book of the "Two Ways"? And what the "Pilgrim's Progress" of the early Christians? Now for a few dates, only probable, but worth fixing fast as probable:

- (1) Paul's Epistles, written during what ten years?
- (2) Mark, Luke, Matthew, written A. D. 70-100.
- (3) John, written when?

4. *Character of these Early Christians.*—The life among them seems like *what*, made real? Their Church a "social organism," a "secret society," a "congregational body,"—explain each term. What superstitions were common among them?

5. *Rival Religions.*—The three rivals of Christianity—what were they? and what does the fact of so many rival religions show as to the age? Why did they fail and Christianity succeed? How did they help in Christianity's success? Can you understand the "apotheosis" of a living man?

6. *Persecutions.*—Why were the Christians persecuted? Were the early persecutions as cruel as those which later Christians carried on against each other? What is the proverb about the "blood of martyrs"? And what makes it true?

### LESSON III.

#### The Seed Growing in Secret.

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Chronology:—From Paul's death A. D. 64, to Justin Martyr, A. D. 140. Suggestions to teachers:—Read the "Two Ways" in the "Teachings of the Twelve Apostles;" describe the Catacombs; tell the story of some martyr like Polycarp.

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#### I. THE FRAMEWORK OF GENERAL HISTORY.

It was about two-thirds through the long and glorious reign of Emperor Augustus that Jesus was born; and near the close of the reign of Tiberius, his successor, that Jesus was crucified. The great missionary work of Paul, which prompted the earlier disciples to larger efforts in a similar line, began some six years before the reign of Nero, A. D. 54. Paul's letters and his three missionary journeys fall within about the ten years, 48-59; he arrived in Rome on his appeal to the emperor in 62; for two years we know nothing of his life, but he probably died during what is called the first persecution in 64, which occurred just after the great fire, called the burning of Rome. Both events have blackened the name of Nero (he died, universally hated, in 68), who was accused of helping to burn the city, and, to turn away suspicion from himself, as Tacitus states, he put the blame upon the Christians and had many killed in the most horrible fashion. In 70, the Romans under Titus captured and destroyed Jerusalem, a fact which greatly influenced the course and character of the Christian movement: (1) by lessening the hopes that Jesus would soon return and set up the Messianic kingdom at the Holy City;

and (2) by separating the new religion farther from the Jews and putting it more in the hands of the Gentiles, thus making it broader and more independent.

In 95 came the second persecution, under Domitian, when Clement, head of the church at Rome, and others, suffered martyrdom. Then followed in succession the rulers known as the Five Good Emperors—Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius—the latter one of the noblest of men, whose reign began in 161, a score of years after the period we are studying in this lesson. The Roman Empire then enjoyed its greatest peace and prosperity. Those were years devoted to the improvement of government, to the reform of abuses, to the encouragement of education, and to widespread social ameliorations. It was in 110 that the third persecution occurred under Trajan, which occasioned Pliny's letter, in which we find the first description of a Christian community from the hand of an outside writer.

## II. HOW THE NEW FAITH SPREAD.

The first followers of Jesus were Jews. Even Paul, who carried the gospel to the Gentiles, was a Jew. In going forth from Jerusalem to proclaim the glad tidings, the disciples first spoke their message in the synagogues; and those abroad were more liberal than those in Palestine, especially on account of the large number of proselytes who had come in from the Gentile population about. Here was the ready-made platform from which the gospel was preached; the



group of hearers to whom it was first delivered. And when the new preacher was driven out, the more liberal followed him, and, uniting with other earnest minded people outside who gladly responded to the invitation to lead a new life, they together formed a new organization, something like the old synagogues, but open to all, free in spirit, and, where Paul's influence went, without the observance of the Levitical law. This new institution shared with its mother, the synagogue, its nobler elements—singing, praying, preaching, Bible reading (the Old Testament in a Greek translation) and almsgiving; while its new elements were baptism, a common meal, belief in Jesus as the Messiah, and great emphasis on the spirit and teaching of the Master.

From city to city the disciples preached, and this going forth from the synagogue and making a church followed. It was a very quiet and obscure work, attracting little attention and leaving little or no record of itself. These were small groups of lowly people. And yet, in them the seed of a new religion was growing in secret; the elements of a new civilization taking deep root. How this went on for twenty years before Paul's death we can trace in outline from his letters and from Acts, which, written later and not accurate in all respects, reports many interesting facts.

But from about A. D. 60, the Christian movement almost disappears and runs underground for nearly eighty years, and when it reappears in clear historic light about 140, in such works as *The Shepherd of Hermas*

(the Pilgrim's Progress of the early church) and the writings of Justin and others, we see that it has become greatly changed. It was kept out of sight by the persecutions, by its lowly character, and by the popular prejudice which considered it simply a Jewish superstition. And it was just as well. This very obscurity left the disciples free to grow as the spirit led them; the frown of the world drove them close together and made them firm and self-reliant. It was a season of "intense, warm, brooding life," in which the principles of the gospel became permanently organized into personal habits and definite institutions.

### III. THE CHARACTER OF THESE CHURCHES.

Some fragments in later writings, the Pastoral Epistles (about 100-125), the epistles of Clement and Barnabas (about 100), and the recently discovered church manual, "Teachings of the Twelve Apostles," belonging near the end of this period, together with the discoveries in the Catacombs (for it was in places, especially Rome, not only figuratively but literally an underground movement), give us some hints of what was going on. The first thing to note is that the Christian movement was not all of one piece. There were no definite sects as yet, but different phases and tendencies. Where the local church<sup>1</sup> was largely composed of those who had come out of the synagogue, it was often narrowly Jewish, old forms were retained, and Jesus was regarded simply as the Messiah,—an exalted man, not a descending divinity. Where the Gentile ele-

ments were in the majority, Paul's freer spirit ruled, and Jesus was looked upon as more than human, and still there was so far no clear identification of Jesus with the God-head.

Somewhere, when men of philosophical mind accustomed to use the word *Logos*, as we do the word *Evolution*, to express a theory of creation,—when they accepted the gospel, they very naturally said: Jesus is the incarnation or embodiment of that principle or agent in the making of the universe that we have called the *Logos*. And this union of the historical Jesus with the doctrine of the *Logos*, which occurred in this obscure period, giving the latter a historical personality and making the former the center of a philosophy of creation,—this marks a radical transformation in Christianity, a product of which we find in the Fourth Gospel, written as late as 125.

But these philosophical notions became prominent only toward the close of this period. Christianity was still, in the main, the church of the Sermon on the Mount. This is evident from the character of the First Three Gospels, which grew into shape in those years: Personal memories of Jesus passed into permanent traditions; these into brief written memoirs; from these our Gospels (probably in this order: Mark, Luke, Matthew) were compiled. The intense and exclusive moral quality of these documents, historical in a very true sense, though not absolutely accurate, reflects the real spirit of the churches in the several decades before and after the year A. D. 100. To go about

doing good like the Master, a life rather than a creed, was the Christian law and ideal. Not even so short a confession as our *Apostles' Creed* (the product of much later ages) was then known.

The common thought of Jesus, in which Christians found comfort and inspiration, is pictured on the walls of the Catacombs in the figures which represent him as the Good Shepherd. There speaks the spirit of love, gentleness, helpfulness, which they found in Jesus and which they strove to make their own: not dogmas but deeds. In the "Teachings of the Twelve Apostles," Christianity is described under the figure of the *Two Ways* (a popular designation in those days): one, the "Way of Life," into which is built the teachings of Jesus as given in Sermon and Parable; the other, the "Way of Death," a series of warnings against lust, pride, injustice, impurity and all unrighteousness. Here was the "simplicity of the gospel," a religious faith, supremely ethical, gloriously helpful, beautiful and powerful in its love.

There is another side to the church which we must not neglect, though it has often been ignored. Christianity was more than a faith, more even than the memory and words of Jesus. It was a social organism, bringing all sorts and conditions of people together in free and equal fashion for spiritual worship and human helpfulness. The church was the home and method of a new social impulse; an agency for uniting men and women in common hopes and activities. This gave it a capacity to train men in

character unlike anything else in the ancient world. It furnished what could not be found in temple or school. Here we touch the secret of its power, the explanation of its conquests. And for some years the church was a secret society. Its meetings were entered by secret signs and passwords; its rites, still simple and informal, baptism and the supper, were celebrated in secret. During this period each congregation was an independent religious body, its members all equal and its officers elective. But as we see from the Pastoral Epistles, the beginnings of a more definite organization were made in the first quarter of the second century; though nothing like what we know as clerical orders or sacraments as yet existed.

We must remember that in those years many gross superstitions were mixed up with the pure ethical sentiments of the gospel, chief among them being: a belief in demons, a conviction that baptism possessed and exerted a magical power capable of protecting one from demoniacal influence, a bitter and unreasonable hatred of wealth and a fantastic expectation of the second coming of Jesus and the end of the world.

#### IV. THE RELATION OF CHRISTIANS TO THE WORLD.

We must remember, also, that Christianity was not the only effort made in the Roman Empire in those days toward a new faith and a moral reformation. It had rivals, whose influence in a manner prepared its way and some of whose better elements it afterwards took up into its own life. It was

one phase of a general craving for a more real and spiritual thought of God and a better ordering of human life. There were cults, or religious ceremonies, imported from the east, like Mithraism, a successful rival for a time, but lacking in simplicity and seriousness; there was the new philosophy, both Stoic and Platonic, represented by Seneca, Plutarch, and Epictetus, teaching noble and elevating lessons about God and Duty, doing much to make the world better, and helping on that great work in which Christians were engaged, and yet lacking in popular power and organic methods.

There was, especially strong in the provinces, the worship of the emperor, an ardent patriotism fused with religious sentiment, something like the enthusiasm once aroused by Napoleon, but expressed through definite religious symbols and rites; a universal state religion, very difficult for us to appreciate. But when we remember how the emperor appealed to the imagination as the embodiment of the greatness and glory of the empire, we are not so much surprised at this deification of a man, which we must not take in an absolute sense. They did not think him Almighty God. If a childish piety, it was the worship of a great national ideal, in some respects even elevating and wholesome. But at best it could be only a temporary expedient. And yet by its universality it prepared the way for Christianity; while by its deification of a human being, it helped toward placing Jesus in the Godhead. It reveals a state of mind that makes it easier for us to understand how men came

to call Jesus God, and it also explains what they first meant by this language.

It was revolt against this worship of the emperor that brought Christians into the conflict with the state which led to the persecutions. When they refused to worship the emperor, the test and pledge of patriotism, they were punished, not for their religious belief but for what seemed disloyalty. Also, the church as a secret society came under the condemnation of a general law. Moreover, because of this secrecy and the offence given public sentiment by the promiscuous meeting together of men and women, wild rumors sprang up falsely attributing to them many monstrous practices. These facts make it plain how good emperors and just governors came, sometimes reluctantly, to engage in persecutions, often attended with great cruelty and loss of life. But these outbreaks were more local and temporary than generally supposed, occurring at intervals of nearly a generation; and they were never directed simply against mere belief, like the intolerance of Christians, nor was torture used, as in the Spanish Inquisition. The serene and beautiful heroism of the early martyrs makes one of the most touching incidents of all history; and yet sincere believers in almost every faith have willingly died as witnesses of its truth. The Christians strove to be good citizens, but, suffering the misfortune of being misunderstood, they were cruelly persecuted. Still, the blood of the martyrs, in this as in other cases, was the seed of the church.

Reason  
for  
Roman  
Persecutions

See Allen, "Christian History," vol. 1., chaps. III and IV., for a general description of this period; Adams, "Civilization during the Middle Ages," chap. III., gives a clear outline of the Christian element; the Epistles of Clement and Barnabas (translated in "The Apostolic Fathers") and the "Teachings of the Twelve Apostles" (printed as a tract by the American Unitarian Association) are invaluable because giving direct access to the thought and life of the church at this time; Hatch, "Greek Ideas and Usages" (Hibbert Lectures, 1888), lecture VI., describes the moral condition outside the church and its bearing upon our subject, Stanley "Christian Institutions," chap. XIII., and Clarke, "Events and Epochs," chaps. I. and II., tell the interesting story of the Catacombs.





## QUESTIONS ON LESSON IV.

Compare the Sermon on the Mount (Matt. v.-vii.) with John i. 1-18: what general difference do you feel?

1. *The Jewish Messiah and the Greek Logos Becoming One.*—What is the central doctrine of Christianity? What does “incarnation” mean? This doctrine resulted from the blending of what two great race streams of thought? Describe the blending process—its four stages:

(1) Plato’s “ideas” (375 B. C.)—God’s ideal patterns of created things.

(2) The “Logos”—these “ideas” viewed collectively as God’s reason and creative word.

(3) Philo, the Greek Jew (30 A. D.) personifies this “Logos” as a secondary God, the great God’s agent in creation.

(4) Second century Christians see this secondary creative God “incarnate” in Jesus, the Jewish “Christ”: the two became one.

What two New Testament writers helped in this identification of Jesus and the Logos? And what mid-century writer (150 A. D.) shows the process finished? The effect of this blending upon the idea of “Jesus”? and upon the idea of the “Logos”? What did the blending finally give the world?

2. *Branching Speculations, the “Heresies.”*—On one hand, the “Gnostics,”—what did they “know” concerning spirit and matter, God and Jesus? Which side of Jesus—the Logos or the Man side—did they emphasize? What became of these Gnostics?

On the other hand, the “Ebionites” and “Alogi,”—what did they think? What gave the “Monarchians” their name?

3. *The Main Current, or Christian “Orthodoxy.”*—What, by 200 A. D., was the common Christian opinion (*i. e.*, the “orthodoxy” or “right belief”) concerning Jesus? What three writers set forth this faith in Egypt, Carthage, Gaul? Is this faith yet the full-grown doctrine of the Trinity? What was lost in this transfiguration of Jesus? What gained? Which was the greater? In the struggle of opinions why did the Christian orthodoxy win the day?

4. *The Real Power of the Early Church—its Life Side.*—Illustrate this by (1) the story of a Sunday service in Justin’s day (150 A. D.), and (2) the story of some early martyr, Polycarp, Blandina or Perpetua. To judge by such stories, what were the three sources of the wondrous power of the young Christian Church?

## First Period: The Young Church: A. D. 30— A. D. 430.

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### LESSON IV.

#### Christian Faith Passing Into Dogma.

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Chronology:—From Justin, A. D., 140, to Clement, A. D., 220. The greatest teacher:—Clement of Alexandria. A touching story:—The martyrdom of Blandina at Lyons.

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#### I. JESUS AS THE LOGOS.

If we compare the Sermon on the Mount with the introduction to the Fourth Gospel, we at once note a radical difference. If we pass from the Teachings of the Twelve Apostles to Justin's Apology, we realize that we have gone from one world of religious belief to another that is very different. This difference is due to the fact that the Christian movement, about a century after the crucifixion, flowed into a new channel, and became to some extent a philosophy of creation. In making converts among educated people, it did not enter into void minds but into minds already furnished with certain philosophical ideas, with which the new faith had to accommodate itself, by which it was modified. For a long time the great problem among thinking people had been this: How did God create and how does he govern the Universe? The great Plato had taught that there are ideal forms or patterns, endowed with life, by which the Supreme Architect constructs what we call nature. These came in time to be spoken of collectively as the *Logos*, the "reason" or "word" of God, which goes forth, as the word of command proceeds

from our lips, to execute his purpose, to fashion the world according to his plans.

Thus, people were in the habit of thinking and speaking of the Logos as the principle or agent of creation, operating between the Infinite God and the Universe; and, so to speak, working the substance of nature up into the forms familiar to us. This was not a discovery of the truth of things, but a mere fancy, you will say; and yet, it was their best thought about these problems. A Jew of Alexandria, Philo, born about 20 B. C., and living to A. D. 50, worked out this doctrine more fully than anyone else, trying to unite in it Hebrew piety and Greek philosophy. While his thought is not quite clear, he seems to have considered the Logos a divine creative person, who stands between God and the world, carrying out in creation and providence the will and purpose of the Almighty.

The thought of the Logos had reached this form and was generally held by philosophical people, when the gospel began to be accepted by educated persons. It was natural that they should say when they heard the story of Jesus: He is the incarnation of that Logos. That is, this Creative Agent, to complete the work of providence, took on human form in the person of Jesus. This was as far as the thought of the time went respecting the subject of redemption. The conclusion was all the more easily made because Paul had already lifted Jesus to a heavenly rank as the Second Adam, or Spiritual Man existing before all worlds. And from this exalted view of Jesus, which was

the one preached to them, they easily passed to the thought of him as the Incarnate Logos. This occurred the more readily, as the belief in the incarnation of a divine being in a human body for such a purpose was very familiar to them, being one of the commonest beliefs of the old religions.

Thus, the stream of philosophical thought, playing upon the problem of creation, coming down from Plato and taking this peculiar form in Philo, and the stream of Christian belief bearing onward an ever expanding conception of Jesus, came together and made a new current of religious and philosophical belief. Jesus was clothed with the doctrine of the Logos, while the Logos idea was given a personal and historical realization, or embodiment. Both old currents were changed and enriched. The new faith gained a philosophical framework, the old philosophy a religious impulse and ideal. This view of Jesus and this transformation of Christianity were helped forward in the second quarter of the second century by the publication of the Fourth Gospel, in which the story of Jesus's life is retold under the influence of this doctrine of the Logos; and also by the writings of Justin, who took a similar view (he represented the Logos as *reason* universally diffused but supremely embodied in Jesus), and who was the first *Apologist*, the first philosopher to accept and advocate Christianity.

## II. THE BRANCHING MOVEMENTS.

This identification of Jesus and the Logos, leading on to Jesus's deification, started in-

numerable discussions. The subject became the fertile seed plot of luxuriant speculations. The Christian movement branched out, on the one hand, during the middle decades of the second century, into an extremely fanciful tendency of thought known as *Gnosticism*; from the word "gnosis," or knowledge; because its advocates presumed to know so much about the mysteries of God's being and the methods of creation. The Gnostics assumed a hostility between *matter* and *spirit* as the cause and reason of the difference between good and evil, matter being considered the source of sin. They taught that numerous *emanations* proceed from the distant God as his working agents (they split the Logos into several principles or persons), and that Jesus, or the Son, was the last or greatest of these, many holding that he was not a real man, having only a phantom-like body.

There were many phases of Gnostic opinion, some very popular for a time and some hardly Christian even in name. And to a teacher in general sympathy with these views, Marcion, we owe the first effort (about A. D. 150) to make a new body of Scripture. He opposed all things Jewish, disowned Jehovah as an adversary of the true God (an exaggerated emphasis on the difference between Judaism and Christianity), and rejected the Hebrew Bible, using instead Paul's Epistles and a Gospel similar to our Luke. The Gnostics did not form separate churches but existed as an extreme group of thinkers. Gnosticism in this form finally vanished (the Gnostic method however is

fundamental in all the later trinitarian discussions), because: (1) its ideas were too fanciful, while it placed God too far off and obscured the humanity of Jesus; and (2) it lacked moral earnestness, while it substituted speculation for spirituality.

At the other extreme, were conservatives, who, resisting these wild attempts to fathom the mysteries of the Godhead, clung to historical reality, and insisted on the humanity of Jesus. And there were different parties among these. There were those known as Ebionites, who were strongly Jewish in spirit, holding the original view that Jesus was an exalted man. They were disowned as heretical, and finally disappeared, as the churches became more and more Gentile and philosophical. There were others in Asia Minor true to the primitive traditions of that original home of Christianity, who refused to think of Jesus at all as the Logos, and they were afterwards contemptuously called *Alogi*.

Toward the close of the second century, there were many influential Christian teachers who held some form of what is known as the *Monarchian* theory. These were extreme monotheists who would not accept a lesser God nor allow any phrase which intimated a division in the divine nature, believing in the sole government of the one God. Theodotus and Artemon asserted that Jesus was simply a man miraculously born. Praxeas taught that all of the Godhead that a human being could contain had flowed over into Jesus. Noëtus held that in Jesus as the Son (he admits no separate agency of



the Logos), God simply reveals a certain side of his being and takes up new relations with humanity,—a view now approached by those who call themselves the “New Orthodoxy.”

### III. THE MAIN CURRENT.

The identification of Jesus and the Logos was inevitable, but the sober thought of a majority in the churches refrained from fanciful extremes. He was surely a divine being and yet they would not surrender his real humanity. Out of a good deal of confusion emerged, toward the close of the second century, the dominant idea that Jesus, as the Logos or the Son (these words, rather than *Jesus*, were now generally used), was a divine evolution from the Godhead, a second potency which proceeds from God and is subordinate to him. The precise relation of the Son to the Father is not yet clearly stated, that had to be worked out later. But this much constituted the main current of Christian thought: That Jesus was the incarnate Logos, or Son; and that the Son is included in the Godhead or intimately associated with the Almighty, but a subordinate being.

This view was made prominent by the three leading writers whose work culminated about A. D. 200 (different in many respects but united in opposition to Gnosticism): Irenæus of Lyons, the leading churchman of his day; Clement of Alexandria, a man of broad mind and catholic spirit; and Tertullian of Carthage, a person of fiery and intolerant temper, who first used the term

*trinity*, but not with its present meaning. As we read their pages, two things are very clear: (1) their view of Jesus is shaped, not by historical evidence, but by pure speculation; and (2) while they seem sure that Jesus the Logos is in a sense God, their ideas are confused and they labor with a problem as yet unsolved. The phrase, "Father, Son and Holy Spirit," had long been common, but its meaning was dim, wavering and uncertain; it took two centuries more to define these terms.

There was both loss and gain in this philosophical transformation of Christianity. The human personality of Jesus was somewhat obscured and emphasis was changed from life in his spirit to discussions respecting his rank,—this was the loss. But in this way Christianity acquired a philosophy; irrational and fanciful it seems to the scientific mind, but it then satisfied the thoughtful who craved an explanation of creation and providence,—this was the gain.

#### IV. THE REAL POWER OF THE CHURCH.

We must not think, however, that these discussions about the Logos constituted the whole of Christianity, or that this belief in Jesus as the Logos was the source of its power. This was only its *thought* side; and these problems then interested only a small minority. Christianity was still in the main a life in the spirit of Jesus. The secret of its greatness and glory is found in Justin's description of a church service in those years:

On the day which is called the day of the Sun, all those who live in towns or in the country assemble in the same place, and the memorials of the apostles [probably our oldest Gospels and some others of similar character now lost] and the writings of the prophets are read, as far as time allows. When the reader has finished, the president [or minister] addresses words of exhortation and admonition to those who are present to induce them to conform to such beautiful teachings. Then we all rise together and send up our prayers to heaven, and, when the prayer is ended, the bread and wine and water are distributed, and he who presides prays and gives thanks with all his might, and the people show their assent by saying *Amen*. Then the offerings over which thanksgivings have been pronounced are distributed; each one receives his share, and that of the absent is sent to him by the deacons [communion was then a common and substantial meal]. Those who are well off and who wish to give, give what they please, each one as he is disposed; he succors the widows and orphans and those who are in distress through sickness or any other reason, those who are in prison, and strangers who may come; in short, he takes care of all those who are in want.

Here we see the Sermon on the Mount put into practice. What we see is not a religion of rites and dogmas, but of love, purity and helpfulness, under the sanction of the inspiring memory of Jesus. We see religion, too, as a corporate life, flowing through a social organism rich in humane associations and tender disciplines. And yet, while these Christians were superior in many ways, we must not think that they were the only good people then living.

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See Allen, "Christian History," vol. I. pp. 50-60, for a few helpful remarks on the general topic; Hall, "Orthodoxy and Heresy," chap. II., treats the subject admirably; Hatch, "Greek Ideas and Usages," Hibbert Lectures, 1888, chap. VII., is invaluable; Renan, "The Christian Church," chaps. XVIII., XIX., is instructive and suggestive; Baur, "Church History," vol. I., pp. 185-228 (Gnosticism), and vol. II., pp. 62-107, gives what is still a masterly statement of facts; Drummond, *Philo Judæus*, vol. II. chap. VI., is the standard discussion of Philo's doctrine of the Logos; Martineau, "Seat of Authority in Religion," pp. 408-432, treats the idea of the Logos as found in Philo and the Fourth Gospel.



## QUESTIONS ON LESSON V.

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1. *Conflicts Within and Without.*—*Within:* the Gnostics,—like whom today? And the Montanists,—like whom today? *Without:* the persecutors,—why was it the good emperors rather than the bad ones who persecuted the Christians? And the literary opponents,—what sound argument had they? Who answered them? Why did the Christians win, notwithstanding?

2, 3 and 4. *Christianity Organizing itself:*—

(1) By 150 it grew its own *Philosophy*. Out of what two elements?

(2) By 200 it gathered its own new *Scriptures*. What was the Bible of the first Christians? What writings made their new Bible? How did this differ from our present New Testament? Why was a “canon” of Scripture needed?

(3) By 275 it crystalized a *Creed*. Out of what? What was it called? The legend about its origin? its real origin? (See Cyclopædia.) Is this quite the same Apostles' Creed that the Episcopalian prayer-book prints? (Compare them.) What great church doctrines are not even mentioned in this earliest Creed?

(4) By 300 it developed a *Clergy*. What four kinds of church government are there among the churches of your town? Which is our kind? Which was the way with the earliest Christians? What two officials were soon needed in their churches, and how did the “bishops” come to be? What orders rose later? Who greatly urged this unifying tendency?

(5) It elaborated *Sacraments*. What were Baptism and the Communion in the primitive Christian days? And what magic efficacy had they later? How did this change affect the power of the clergy?

(6) It established *Churches, Festivals, Discipline, etc.* The Basilicas—what were they? How did the Sabbath change to Sunday?

5. *From Martyr's Stake to Emperor's Throne.*—How did the last and greatest persecution end? Who made Christianity the religion of the Empire,—and when? Tell the legend of the Cross he saw in the sky. (Cyclopædia.) What per cent. of the people were probably Christians at this time? How came the Emperor to dare? Did this triumph of Christianity end the old Paganism? What really happened?

## First Period: The Young Church: A.D. 30— A. D. 430.

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### LESSON V.

#### The Church Triumphant.

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Chronology:—From Origen A. D. 230, to the Edict of Milan, A. D. 313. The Greatest Scholar and Writer:—Origen, 185-254. The legend of the heavenly cross seen by Constantine will interest the children.

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#### I. CONFLICTS WITHIN AND WITHOUT.

The new faith came rapidly into prominence in the last years of the second century; but it won its way amidst many obstacles and with great difficulty. Persecutions were now far apart, but horrible enough when they did come. We note especially that under Severus in 202, during which the pathetic martyrdom of Perpetua and others occurred at Carthage; and another under Decius in 250. Some emperors were friendly and others recognized it as a lawful religion. But Christianity now came into conflict more decisively with the moral and intellectual forces of the old world, while it had to struggle with factions within its own fold. Especially for a couple of generations (170-240) it was under fire, subject to the contempt and criticism of such men as Lucian, a bright but trifling skeptic to whom all religions seemed mere superstitions; Celsus, who argued with great force against the miraculous elements in the Christian tradition; and Porphyry, who set over against the church a

philosophical faith with considerable power to inspire piety and shape conduct.

It was against these foes without and the Gnostics within that the *Apologists* wrote (140-250),—Athenagoras, Irenæus, Clement, Tertullian, Hippolytus, Origen. Their pages, barren of great or fruitful thoughts, shine with great moral earnestness. It is not strange that to an enlightened pagan, Christianity, only half appreciated, seemed a crude affair. It had no representative in the second century so saintly as Marcus Aurelius, no moral teacher so great as Epictetus, no writer still so valuable as Plutarch. And yet, in many ways, it was vastly superior to any other form of life which then existed. And its points of superiority were its living faith in God, its certainty of immortality, its love of Jesus, and its serious zeal and practical work for purity, mercy and justice.

Besides the Gnostic tendency of thought, which for a time threatened to turn this sober Christian faith into a grotesque system of mysticism, and evaporate its moral earnestness into barren and fanciful speculation, there appeared toward the close of the second century, arising in Asia Minor and spreading westward, a movement known as *Montanism*, with features similar to both Puritanism and Methodism. These Montanists indulged in seasons of ecstasy (what is now called "having the power"), when they felt themselves directly inspired of God and able to prophesy. They took literally Jesus's promise of the comforter, or Paraclete, as reported in the Fourth Gospel. They pro-



tested against the growing worldliness of the church, believed in the immediate second coming of Christ, and honored women preachers. They insisted upon rigorous church discipline, looking upon pleasures as sinful and holding that sins committed after baptism are unpardonable. Montanism, to which Tertullian gave the last years of his life, led to excesses of enthusiasm and sectarian feeling which for many years disturbed the church.

## II. CHRISTIANITY AS A WORLD POWER.

By the beginning of the third century, Christians began to feel that they were a "world power," a supreme and comprehensive institution. The majority, instead of waiting for the coming of the Lord, went to work to reform the world, not living apart from it like the Montanists, but entering into it with authority to free from sin and rule with love. Christianity, in thus coming to a consciousness of itself as a public dispensation, grasped the conception of a *Catholic Church*, and felt its blood leap with enthusiasm for unity and zeal for conquest.

It was now well equipped for this mission. The association of Jesus with the doctrine of the Logos gave it an august and comprehensive philosophy. The growth of the churches into powerful movements in the great cities, —Antioch, rich in apostolic memories; Alexandria, the home of Christian philosophy; Carthage, where Roman lawyers in becoming ministers gave the church a legal form of faith and a compact organization; Lyons, from which great missionary enterprises radi-

ated; and Rome, where a sense of authority naturally sprang up,—all this made Christianity feel strong in numbers and aggressive in spirit.

The growth of a new body of Scriptures, the Gospels and Apostles, our New Testament, and its elevation to a level with the Hebrew Bible, went along with the idea of a Catholic Church. The contents of this new collection were only slowly settled by common usage. At this time opinion was unanimous respecting our four Gospels, Acts and Paul's Epistles, but suspicion rested upon some writings now included—II. Peter, II. and III. John, Jude, James and Revelation; while others were then included by some teachers and churches which have since fallen out, especially the Shepherd of Hermas and the Epistles of Clement and Barnabas. This new Scripture gave the church what was needed in debate and disorder, a standard of authority for faith and discipline.

Out of its expanding life, from primitive affirmations of faith in God the Father and Jesus the Christ, as germs, grew the so-called Apostles' Creed: "I believe in God the Father Almighty; and in Jesus Christ his son, our Lord; born of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary; crucified under Pontius Pilate and buried; the third day he rose from the dead, ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father; from thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead; and in the Holy Spirit, the Holy Church, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body, the life everlasting." A confession similar to this (the ancient Roman, not the

common form) was used in the west at the close of the third century. It was neither written by one man nor formulated by a council, but slowly aggregated, clauses being added as the thought of the church became clear on certain points: "forgiveness of sins," a denial of Montanism; and later the word *catholic* was added after *holy*. Its use, not as a test of orthodoxy but as a liturgical affirmation, helped to make the common faith uniform and clear. It is remarkable in two ways: The absence of all reference to such dogmas as scriptural infallibility, sacrificial atonement and eternal damnation. Also the absence, as with the other creeds, of moral teaching; it is destitute of "character-building power." It does not in any sense represent the spirit, or life, which then made Christianity what it was.

### III. THE ORGANIC GROWTH.

The second century witnessed a departure from the simple church organization of the Apostles. The Pastoral Epistles show what had been done by the year 125: the Ignatian Epistles (150?), of uncertain authorship and date, show a later and more elaborate ideal of episcopal authority,—hardly a settled policy when they were written. The third century saw a more advanced organization coming into shape. And several lines of facts were influential in these changes. The men who passed over into the church from the outside world carried with them from their secular training ideas and methods respecting the conduct of affairs which they naturally put in practice in church matters.

The growth of church organization was gradual, as the needs for it arose, and "all the elements of the organization can be traced to external sources." The growth of the Christian movement in numbers increased the amount of work to be done and multiplied duties. And hence arose a demand for leaders, new officials and a division of labor. In its efforts to beat back such tendencies as Gnosticism, to resist such movements as Montanism, to repress disorders and discipline the lawless, the absolute necessity arose for a strong hand, for a central authority.

As we look at the growing church life of the third century, what we see is this: The clergy became more definitely separated from the membership of the church as a special class with assumptions of authority and assertions of priestly, or sacerdotal, rank. The grade and the duties of officials were fixed upon the theory of the three orders: deacons the *philanthropic*, presbyters the *teaching*, the bishop the *ruling* arm of the church. In earlier times presbyters and bishops were about the same; but now the bishop became the one head of the church, the representative in it of Christ. He was not so much the elected representative of a free and independent church as the consecrated head of a budding hierarchy. He who had been a mere president became the sole embodiment of the dignity and power of the church. The dependence upon him of outlying mission churches and the appeals to him in case of trouble in smaller places increased the authority of the city bishop.

As men began to think of the Christian movement as a state within the state, the churches of a province were affiliated about the metropolis, whose bishop became a *Metropolitan* with large powers; and he called the other clergy of that district together in synods, to manage the general affairs of the churches; but at first they were only advisory in character. Little by little, the local congregation, formerly free and independent, became simply a member of an ecclesiastical organization; and while the form of an election of the clergy continued, it came to be little more than a form. In those days the settlement of disputes between members and the punishment of disorderly conduct were carried on within the church,—matters now within the scope of our courts.

Cyprian, ten years bishop of Carthage, 248–258, especially carried forward this ecclesiastical movement. He strongly asserted the unity of the church and the authority of the bishop. He taught that the church has power to pardon sin, turning the personal grace of forgiveness, as taught by Jesus, into a formal rite of absolution. Communion and Baptism, ceasing to be symbols of purification and fellowship, became *Sacraments*,—rites with awful sanctity, indispensable for protecting from demons and conferring immortal life. The old Greek mysteries were influential in making these changes. The exclusion of the believer from the latter, the Eucharist, was the heaviest church penalty,—the greatest misfortune that could befall a Christian. At one point Cyprian failed, and

his opponent, the bishop of Rome, carried the day, the first decisive step toward Roman supremacy. Cyprian held that baptism by a heretic is invalid, but the Roman and victorious theory was that all baptism, right in form, is efficacious.

#### IV. THE EVE OF VICTORY.

The Edict of Toleration under Gallienus in 260 showed how strong the position of the church had become. The forty-three years of peace from that on gave it a chance for rapid growth. In that period, it completed its organization as a "Catholic Church" (far different from what we know as the *Roman Catholic Church*), along the lines already indicated. Property was acquired, the holding of which by the bishop as trustee increased his power. Many churches were erected; the name *Basilica*, judgment hall, given to them, indicates how largely Christianity had become a civil as well as a religious institution. It also indicates how decisively Christians then opposed the old *temple idea* and all connected with it. An extensive, graded, and well-organized body of clergy existed. The scattered churches were drawn close together in a powerful 'network' of fellowship and subordination to episcopal authority. Schools and philanthropies became numerous. Church services were made more elaborate and impressive, and church discipline more extensive and authoritative. The services, formerly held on the Sabbath were transferred to Sunday, which became the one holiday, not by substituting the one for the other but by dropping the Jewish Sabbath and

merging in its service that of the Lord's Day, commemorative of Jesus's resurrection and observed with the other from apostolic times. The church now had a consciousness of unity and strength as a world embracing institution.

When the last great persecution came under Diocletian in 303, though it lasted for eight years and thousands were put to death, yet the church was too strong to be uprooted. In 313, the Edict of Milan gave the empire freedom of worship; and in 324, under Constantine, Christianity became the religion of the empire. The legend of the cross seen in the sky by Constantine is simply a piece of fancy work disguising the real motive which prompted his alliance with the church. The emperor here acted the part of a sagacious statesman rather than the part of a Christian disciple. Out of the hundred million people in the empire, not more than seven or eight million were Christians; but they were an earnest, compact, powerful body, moving as a unit and with perfect loyalty to their leaders. No other similar body existed. Constantine was wise enough to see that here was the only material at hand for a new civilization; and the day of triumph, rewarding the church for its heroic patience, obscure fidelity, untold hardships and noble endeavor, was at hand.

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See Allen, "Christian History," vol. I, pp. 66-72, for some remarks on the martyr spirit of this period; Hatch, "Organization of the Early Christian Churches," Lectures II.-IV., gives the best description of the growth of the organic side of Christianity and its dependence upon surrounding conditions; Stanley, "Christian Institutions," chap. X., is a valuable and significant description of the rise of clerical orders; Baur, "Church History," vol. II., Parts Fifth and Sixth, treats the ethical side of Christianity in those years and its relation to the Pagan world; Hatch, "Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages," Lecture X., shows how the Greek Mysteries transformed Baptism and the Supper.

## QUESTIONS ON LESSON VI.

1. *“God the Father—God the Son.”*—What is the doctrine of the Trinity? Is it found full-grown in the New Testament? But its root is there—in what two writers? (Lesson IV.) Does John I. 1-18 make Jesus, God? What was the Christian’s problem in the second century? And what the phrase with which Origen hoped to settle the problem?

2. *Arius and Athanasius.*—Who were they? What was Arius’ thought of Jesus? Plain,—but it made how many Gods? and, worse than that, what? What was Athanasius’ thought, and what *his* phrase to solve the problem? Not plain, but it seemed to keep God One; and, better than that, what?

3. *The Council and Creed of Nice.*—Who called the Council? Its date? (A pivot date of history.) What two words with just one letter’s difference made the center of the storm in Christendom? How did the Council settle the matter?

4. *The Trinity.*—What is the “Holy Spirit”? What Council settled *this* problem? When? So, how long was the doctrine of the Trinity in growing? Did the problem stay settled, or was it only well begun? What great Church Fathers helped to make the doctrine “orthodox”? All living when? But this mysterious doctrine that looks so like a quarrel over words,—what was there vital to religion in it? Should Unitarians be glad that Trinitarianism prevailed? Of what great truth is this doctrine itself the seed? Are not Trinitarians and Unitarians becoming one in this larger truth?

*Augustine and his Part in the Creed of Christendom.*—The other great theologian of the early Church, the Athanasius of the doctrines of Salvation,—what can you tell about his life? (Cyclopædia.) His two most famous books? His method of Salvation was a drama in five acts: (1) *The Fall of Adam*; (2) hence, *Original Sin and Total Depravity*; (3) as penalty for this inherited depravity, *Hell Everlasting*; (4) *Election* of certain men by irresistible grace for redemption from this fate; (5) *Christ’s Death* the method of this redemption. What is our modern name for this whole set of doctrines? (See Lesson xvii.) How different this from Jesus’ thought! (See Mark x. 13-16; Luke x. 25-37; Luke xv. 11-32.)



## First Period: The Young Church: A. D. 30— A. D. 430.

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### LESSON VI.

#### The Making and Meaning of the Nicene Creed.

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Chronology:—The Fourth Century. The Two Great Statesmen:—Constantine and Theodosius. The Two Great Churchmen:—Athanasius and Augustine. Two Interesting Stories:—Athanasius' adventure up the Nile and Augustine's conversion.

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#### I. THE PROBLEM OF THE SON'S RELATION TO THE FATHER AS SOLVED BY ORIGEN.

The human character of Jesus as inspiration toward what we ought to be and his human voice proclaiming the gospel of love as our law of life, the heart and strength of Christianity, have never, even in the most dogmatic ages, been wholly obscured or silenced. But by the beginning of the third century this human and historical Jesus had been pretty well hidden behind the doctrine of the Logos. And the writers and thinkers of the church, referring to him by this name or calling him the "Son of God," meant that a Divine Being closely related to the Almighty had dwelt on earth as a man for our salvation.

The thought of the church, turning away from Jesus's lovely character and his message of love, ran to speculation about the relation of this mysterious God-man to the Almighty. There were those who protested against all this and clung closer to his pure humanity,

but the tide in the other direction was irresistible. Although this change marked a radical transformation, it was not merely a corruption of Christianity; and instead of being a trivial matter, it was a great intellectual movement which had vast meaning and importance then, though its forms of thought have no attraction or authority for us today.

The difficulty with which the church then struggled, in bitter, and often cruel, controversy for centuries, arose from the fact that the Christian mind had taken into itself two contradictory ideas. Christians were monotheists by tradition and conviction, but by the beginning of the third century, Jesus, accepted as the Logos and worshiped as the Son, had reached the position of a second, or subordinate, deity. In a majority of the writings of the time, it is clear that Jesus was regarded as a Divine Being, and yet as distinct from the Almighty Father.

This way of thinking had grown up slowly without any realization of the difficulty which it would finally cause, which was this: Were Christians to have one God or two?—a tremendous problem. On the one hand, they were constrained to belief in one God; on the other, they worshiped Jesus the Son as a subordinate deity. Here was the problem: How to keep their monotheism and at the same time worship Jesus as God. To us the solution seems easy enough: Go back to the original idea,—the humanity of Jesus (the thought of the first three Gospels); but this they could not easily do. The philosophy of the Logos was too dominant; its

association with Jesus too close. They must think of Jesus as the Son, and hence a deity. The question was: How could they do this and continue monotheists?

The first step toward a solution was taken by Origen, a disciple of Clement of Alexandria, whose work fell in the third, fourth and fifth decades of the third century. Origen was the greatest scholar and thinker of the church in his time; broad, catholic, liberal, a voluminous writer and famous teacher. His assertion of the inferiority of the Son to the Father, his belief in universal salvation, his free use of Scripture, and some peculiar views of creation have kept his great name under the suspicion of heresy. He attempted to reconcile monotheism and the deity of Jesus by teaching that the Father and the Son are united and yet separated by a mysterious process, which he called *eternal generation*. To save the idea of monotheism, he included them both in the Godhead, and to keep the idea of the Son as a distinct though subordinate being (the Greek *hypostasis* represents a more subtle distinction than our word "being") Origen conceived him as set apart from the Father from eternity, not by an act of creation, which would make Jesus a *creature* and Christians *idolaters*, but by a mystical process, for which the English word *generation* is an imperfect name. In this way, Jesus becomes the only begotten Son of God. That is to say, Origen solved the difficulty by carrying the contradictory ideas of monotheism and the deity of Jesus up into the region of mystery, and hiding it behind an obscure phrase.

## II. THE CONTEST OF ARIUS AND ATHANASIUS.

This was a temporary working theory which enabled Christians to worship Jesus the Son as God and still keep their monotheism; and it served their needs during the next two generations while the church was expanding as an institution. But finally the problem took on a new phase in Alexandria about the time that Constantine was making Christianity the religion of the empire. Arius, a presbyter, an older and narrower man than his opponent, Athanasius, then a deacon, asserted that Jesus the Logos or Son was a being distinct and separate from God the Father, neither of the same essence nor equal in rank but the first of created beings, yet worthy of worship. In this contention, Arius had with him the majority of Scripture texts and the oldest traditions; and a similar faith was largely held for four centuries (especially by the Goths). It was defended and witnessed by innumerable martyrs, and it was very fruitful of missions. But it was inherently weak. It savored of polytheism, giving Christians practically two Gods; it subjected Christians to the charge of worshiping a *creature*; and it separated man from immediate contact with the Almighty, something that the religious consciousness could not tolerate.

On the other hand, Athanasius, of deep mystical nature and heroic spirit often put to test in a long life of varied adventures, saw the necessity of standing by Origen's doctrine of Eternal Generation to keep monotheism and prevent confusion; and he asserted that the Son is of the *same substance*

as the Father, not created but begotten from eternity. Many of the distinctions about which men then quarreled seem to us fanciful or foolish, and they can be approximately expressed only in Greek terms. They deal with the interior mechanism of the Godhead where reverent silence is best. But this much can be said for Athanasius: By representing the incarnation of the Logos in Jesus as the coming of the Son, begotten from eternity of the same substance as the Father, into immediate contact with humanity, he maintained monotheism in the only fashion possible from that standpoint; he stopped the charge that Christians worshiped a creature, and he brought the Almighty into full touch with man. It is easy to point out confusion and unreality all along this line, but here was a working religious theory which enabled Christians to feel that the Son is in the Godhead and that the Godhead is one; that God himself was incarnate in Jesus, and that the human soul is in direct contact with all of God. Not a clear solution—none can be made on that line—but a compromise which carried for that time the greatest amount of religious helpfulness.

### III. THE COUNCIL AND CREED OF NICÆA.

The fierce contest between Arius and Athanasius rapidly spread through the east; and Constantine, appreciating the evils of such a conflict, and not wishing his new allies to divide and destroy each other, called a council of bishops, the first *ecumenical*. Over 300 responded, nearly all from the east, and the assembly met at Nicæa in 325. After

a session of about two months, marked by a bitterness and turbulence which the emperor's presence did not repress, a statement was adopted, of which this is the important part: "Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten of the Father, Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten not made; being of one substance [*homoousion*; the Arians said "*homoiousion*," similar substance] with the Father." This creed, a compromise, the first choice of but few, was forced upon the council by the emperor to secure peace. While it asserted "sameness of substance" between Father and Son, it was supposed by a majority to imply a subordination of the Son.

We must here remember: (1) This council was called by the emperor, not the bishop of Rome, who at this time occupied no special preëminence. (2) The decision was meant as a condemnation of Arius, but later he gained favor, while Athanasius was exiled, though he became bishop of Alexandria and after a long and stormy career died peacefully in his episcopal office in 373. (3) For half a century, first one and then the other party was uppermost; political intrigue and selfish ambition worked mightily about this theme, distracting the church and obscuring that spirit of Jesus which is Christianity. (4) The Arian form of faith was that which for thirty years (350-380) was spread by Ulfilas, the great Gothic missionary, who translated the New Testament into the mother tongue of his people.

#### IV. AUGUSTINE AND THE DOGMA OF THE TRINITY.

The Nicene Creed is not definitely trini-

tarian; at the end there is only a bare mention of the Holy Spirit. The question then in debate was not the threefold character of the Godhead, but simply the relation of the Son to the Father. But a similar question respecting the character and relation of the Spirit had to be settled: Whether a person or an influence; how related to the Father and Son and how operative in providence. Finally, after much debate and in continuation of lines established at Nicæa, in the second general council at Constantinople, 381, these words were added to the Nicene Creed to cover this point: "The Holy Spirit is the Lord and Giver of Life, who proceedeth from the Father; who with the Father and Son together is worshiped and glorified."

The long-used formula, "Father, Son and Holy Spirit," now for the first time received, after years of debate, a precise definition. The theory of the Godhead as a *trinity* was now completed after a long and fluctuating growth. But when we say, "three persons in one being," we must remember that the word "person" very poorly expresses the distinction which those old Greek theologians had in mind; it is too concrete and individual. That such an idea did not exist in apostolic times is evident from the one fact that it came up long afterwards as something wholly new and only slowly gained its complete form and a general acceptance. It did not arise from a study of Scripture, or from an appeal to history or experience, but from speculations about subjects beyond observation, which reason has no right to handle. Starting from certain assumptions and work-

ing under peculiar conditions, Christians elaborated it as an inevitable conclusion from these mystical and contradictory propositions. And for a time it was a serviceable product of human thought; but the whole problem hangs in the air, without scientific reality or spiritual inspiration.

During the fifty years after the council of Constantinople, 381-430, there were protests innumerable against the trinitarian dogma, but the influence of four great churchmen made its success sure : Ambrose of Milan, a noble character who did much to enrich the church service; Chrysostum of Constantinople, a great orator and writer; Jerome, who finally settled in a monastery in Bethlehem and gave a great impetus to the monastic spirit then becoming strong in the East, the chief Biblical scholar of his time, who drew the line more sharply than previous churchmen between inspired and merely literary writings, practically closing the canon of the New Testament as we have it; and Augustine, in whose voluminous works the young church may be said to have reached its intellectual maturity.

Augustine, born of good family, his mother a Christian, after a youth of dissipation and an early manhood devoted to heretical views (Manichæism), became an orthodox Christian, and spent his last years as bishop of Hippo in northern Africa. He was the master mind of his time, who developed, arranged, and defined the thought of the church, making an exposition of Christian doctrine that was comprehensive and authoritative. A man of intense convictions and



even fierce temper, he advocated with marvelous power the graces of humility and penitence. His *Confessions* belong to the literature that knows no limitations of time or place.

His contributions to theology embraced three topics: 1. A defence and definition of the trinity which became the standard treatise. 2. His view of human nature and human history, the corruption of all men through the fall of Adam and the consequent supremacy of Satan in the world, took possession of the church and has held sway until the present, but is now fast disappearing, thanks to a scientific psychology. 3. From this view of man came his teaching respecting the inability of the human will and salvation by the irresistible grace of God (linked with his theory of God's sovereignty in decrees of election and predestination). On these subjects arose his fierce debate with Pelagius, who took a more rational and generous view of man's ability and God's character. 4. His theory of Jesus's redemptive work (little discussed up to this time) was less clear; but he favored the old notion that Jesus paid the ransom for sinners to Satan. 5. His great work was "The City of God," probably suggested by Plato's *Republic*, in which he argued that over against the old corrupt political world will rise a new spiritual empire with Christ as king and love as law. The Messianic ideal was broadened and exalted; Roman Imperialism was given a Christian interpretation and application. These teachings, set forth in a season of civil tumult and fear to

sustain hope and stimulate effort, became the ideal and inspiration of the church, a prophetic scheme for a new order of society, with many noble elements, which closed one era to open another in the Growth of Christianity.

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See Allen, "Christian History," vol. I., chaps. v. and vi., for these subjects in general; Hall, "Orthodoxy and Heresy," chap. III., is a brief but remarkably clear and able discussion of the growth of the trinitarian dogma; Stanley, "The Eastern Church," Lectures II-VI., graphically describes the council at Nicæa; Matthew Arnold, "Literature and Dogma," chap. ix., shows the vast difference between Jesus's gospel and these dogmas; Hatch, "Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages," Lecture IX., discusses the larger philosophical relations of these subjects; Schaff, "History of the Christian Church," vol. III., chap. x., tells the story of Augustine and the other churchmen of his day.



## QUESTIONS ON LESSON VII.

1. *The Barbarians and the Empire*.—What two rivers made the northern boundary of the Roman Empire? What sort of men lived north of them? Name chief tribes. Who was pushing in their rear? When did they begin to cross the rivers, and how long did their migrations last? Trace on map the paths of the invaders and find where they settled. Name their great leaders. Why are *Goth*, *Vandal*, *Hun*, the standard names for terror? A Civilization in ruins! But what two “providences” had happened first? How is it that Barbarians have so often conquered civilized nations? What counter-conquest usually happens? (Give examples.) So the Fall of Rome was to become the Rise of what?

2. *Rise of the Roman Bishop*.—Who at Rome became the Emperor’s heir? And why did he soon outrank all other western bishops? When did he begin to be called *the Pope*? What legend founded on a Bible-text (Matt. xvi. 18, 19) helped his rise?

3. *Leo the Great, and his Task (450 A. D.)*.—Time and place gave him a mission,—what was it, and how did he strive to accomplish it? Tell the story of Leo and Attila; of Leo and Hilary. (Cyclopædia.)

*Christologic Controversies*.—In this tragic fifth century what were they still quarrelling over in the East? What was the trouble with Nestorius’ thought, and what the phrase that conquered him? How did Pope Leo help to solve the mystery?

4. *Gregory the Great, and his Task (600 A. D.)*.—The age now gave the Pope another mission,—what was this, and how did Gregory fulfil it? Tell about the English missionary Augustine (Cyclopædia). In this counter-invasion, who became Gregory’s missionary army? Their three vows? How did they differ from the Eastern monks? What is *asceticism*? What does *Laborare est orare* mean, and is it true? Who made books, and kept the lamps of learning lit, through the Dark Ages? Contrast St. Simeon Stylites (see Tennyson’s poem so named) with these western bordersaints, these pioneers of civilization.

## Second Period: Christianity in the Middle Ages: A. D. 440—A. D. 1453.

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### LESSON VII.

#### The Imperial Church of Rome.

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Chronology:—From Leo I. (440-461) to Gregory I. (590-604) The Two Extremes of Monasticism: Simeon Stylites and Benedict. Two Interesting Missionaries: Augustine in England and Columba in Scotland. The story of Leo's visit to Attila is dramatic if somewhat legendary.

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#### I. THE BARBARIANS AND THE EMPIRE.

As early as 375 the Western Goths, pressed by the Huns, sought and received permission from Emperor Valens to go south of the Danube, agreeing, if fed and armed, to act as a frontier guard against these new enemies from the far east. But they were stirred to revolt by hunger or ambition, and, in 378, at Adrianople their ruinous defeat of the Roman army gave them courage and awoke the empire to a realization of its impending dangers. From this on, the Barbarians became more aggressive, and soon began to sweep in successive hordes over the Mediterranean countries. In 410 Alaric the Goth was at the gates of Rome. In 451 the defeat of Attila the Hun proved only a temporary relief. Soon Genseric the Vandal was there. In 476 the German occupation of the west was so far under way that the emperor, feeling safe only in the east, placed the reins of government for Italy in the hands of Odoaker. In 493 came the ascend-

ency of Theodoric, Teuton in blood, if Roman in training and ambition. In 568 the Lombards came into Italy and closed a period of two centuries of successive migrations from the north since the days of Ulfilas.

In the fifth century the Roman Empire was falling into pieces from dearth of men, external pressure and other causes. To speak unqualifiedly of the *fall of Rome* is too strong language. Across the northern horizon, long black with barbaric foes, came swarm after swarm of northmen, crude, lawless, but strong. It was a period of social and political disorder; of the plunder of cities; of insecurity of life. Added to these were natural portents and disasters: fiery comets and destructive earthquakes, creative of terrible fears. Then came famine and pestilence, sweeping off large parts of the population in places. The east was pressed from the outside by Persian arms and distracted by sterile theological controversies. The dark picture there was chiefly relieved by the legal reforms associated with the name of Justinian (527), influential in after time in the making of modern society. The one providential fact of immense importance to note is this: Roman arms had kept back the Germanic peoples until Roman civility had been well inrooted in the provinces and Christianity well established in the empire. Both were now too deeply ingrained to be swept aside.

## II. FACTORS FAVORABLE TO THE SUPREMACY OF THE BISHOP OF ROME.

Forsaken by the emperor, who resided in

the east, beset by Barbarians of pagan or heretical (Arian) faith, and overborne by accumulating social disorders, Rome felt the great need of some strong power to exercise leadership and authority. What more natural than that the Bishop of Rome, the representative of the only body of people with comprehensive organization and supreme loyalty, should mount the vacant throne and grasp the sceptre which had fallen from the hand of the Cæsars? The imperial character of the city of Rome, so long the center of military glory and civil administration, invested its bishop with power and prominence. The marvelous capacity of the Roman for affairs showed itself in this new field of action and ambition. The Roman Bishop shunned small controversies, kept close to that conservatism that is strength, and maintained a strict but large-minded Orthodoxy. By his decision in cases of appeal from neighboring churches, which were carefully fostered, he bound outlying regions to himself by gratitude or self-interest. All these and other influences had been rapidly increasing the preëminence of the Bishop of Rome ever since the days of Constantine.

Other causes were also actively at work in the same direction. In the east, the presence of the emperor kept the bishops (those in Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria and Constantinople were now called Patriarchs) in the background; there was another power listening to appeals and exercising authority. But in Rome the bishop, free from all such restrictions, easily pressed to the front and

made himself felt. The weakness of the civil power and the assault of the Barbarians made this all the easier. The missionary work which spread from Rome strengthened his hands by creating a clerical army and new churches obedient to his word. Human ambition quickly took advantage of the situation. It is not surprising that in those years, the legend of St. Peter's primacy was zealously expanded to strengthen the power of the Roman ecclesiastic. Though it is clear that the Roman church was not founded by any apostle, least of all by Peter; while Peter never himself even presumed to be the vicar of Jesus. And it was not until after the year 500 that the Roman bishop began to be called by preëminence, *the pope*, a name before this commonly applied to all bishops.

### III. LEO I. AND HIS TASK.

In 440, a man, at once a wise statesman and a zealous churchman, of striking character and immense qualities of leadership, became Bishop of Rome. It was a time of crisis and transition; and Leo was master of the situation. He saw the necessity and opportunity for a strong hand; and he improved the occasion to forward the interests of the church and the supremacy of Rome. He occupied the vacant seat of the Cæsars, but he exercised a power which they never possessed, — the power of Christian faith and love, which touched, as they could not, the hearts of men. Thrilled by the idea of Augustine respecting a spiritual empire, set forth in the "City of God," Leo bent his great energies to the building up of a new civiliza-



tion under the form of the Christian Church. He labored, arbitrarily but earnestly, to exalt his power as Bishop of Rome in order to repress violence, to destroy the old paganism which had once more revived with show of power and beauty and furnished a few years before a martyr in Hypatia, and to establish far and wide unity of faith and uniformity of church government.

All this Leo sought with courageous activity to accomplish. He felt himself the agent of divine providence and the embodiment of supreme power to save humanity by the assertion of the authority of the Roman church. He met the fierce barbarian and overawed him by his personal bearing. He everywhere maintained the supremacy of Rome as the representative of the primacy given to Peter; and he drew churches to himself by love when he could, while he used force to compel submission when necessary. He held his clergy to the practical tasks of social reorganization rather than let them waste themselves on doctrinal subtilities. Very soon, in 445, came his clash with Hilary of Arles, in which the point at stake was whether the church in Gaul was subject to him or to its own bishop. And Leo, in maintaining his mastery, definitely began that papal aggression which was consummated in 1870 at the Vatican Council by the formal declaration of the infallibility of the Pope. In all this, Leo often used what may seem to us questionable methods; but when we remember the severity of the crisis and the greatness of his labors, we pass a lenient judgment and rejoice over his services to civilization.

The fifth century was the scene in the east of abstruse and virulent discussions respecting the nature of Jesus,—what are known as the *Christological controversies*. The question was: How could Jesus be both God and man? How were the human and divine united? Nestorius, condemning the phrase, “Mary the mother of God” (coming into use while he was bishop of Constantinople in 428), put much emphasis on the humanity of Jesus, and held that he was a *double being*,—a true man made divine by the indwelling of God. This position was condemned at the third general council, at Ephesus, in 431. Appollinaris held that Jesus had but *one nature*,—a sort of middle being neither human nor divine. This view destroyed Jesus’s true humanity while making him less than God. Eutyches went to the extreme of asserting that in Jesus the divine wholly obliterated the human, so that he was nothing but God, having only one nature. All these bitter controversies show into what infinite difficulties we plunge as soon as we assert that Jesus was more than human. Whenever we elevate him above the plane of humanity we obscure him with mysticism and load ourselves with insoluble problems.

At Chalcedon, in 451, a council, the fourth ecumenical, was held to give final decision on this perplexing subject. Leo was not there able to enforce his claim to primacy over all the churches, but he did lay down the very terms adopted as the authoritative creed of Christendom. And that creed asserted that Jesus was both perfect man and perfect God; true man of man and true God

of God, *one being with two natures*. This is the assertion, not the explanation, of the mystery; two contradictory ideas joined but not harmonized. Both the humanity and the deity of Jesus were kept, but in the darkness of a mystery rather than the clear light of reason. Jesus as so defined is unhistorical, and to the scientific mind unthinkable. However, this settlement, not a solution, had some serviceable features, and it materially added to the glory of Rome.

#### IV. GREGORY AND THE BENEDICTINES.

Over a century after Leo, another great organizer and leader, Gregory I., occupied the papal chair for fourteen years, 590-604. His reign marks the end of one era and the beginning of another. He carried forward the policy of Leo, but with a larger scope. Upon the imperial foundation of his predecessor, he built a more imperial church. Leo planned to save, Gregory aspired to conquer with love where Roman legions had failed. He saw that there was something more to do now than to defend Orthodoxy and resist the Barbarians. The church must go forth into that barbarian world, now seen in its full extent, and christianize it.

The Roman church, thanks to Leo and his successors, had won its supremacy as a church over the churches. Its power must now show itself by the conversion of the pagans of the north. Theological disputes, except in the east, had burned themselves out. The migrations from the north had spent their force and the new peoples were beginning to make more permanent settlements. The duty

of the church was now discipline, organization, administration. These peoples must be quieted, compacted, civilized. What was left of the old civility must be grafted into the new races to bear in the fulness of time a richer fruitage than that of ancient Greece and Rome. This work the Christian church must do. To this task Gregory, a man of noble spirit, masterful activity, and wise enthusiasm (he charged Augustine to conciliate rather than offend the Britons), devoted himself. He is to be gratefully remembered especially for three things: (1) He carried forward and completed the organization of the church as an imperial institution such as alone could do the work of the time. (2) He enriched the church service, especially its music, giving us the Gregorian chant. (3) But most of all, he planned great missionary enterprises, notably that to England.

And here we must glance at an organization within the church, which Gregory used to carry out his plans. In 529, Benedict organized at Monte Casino the great order of *Benedictine Monks*. The Benedictine discipline which he formulated has served as model for all western religious orders. It includes three vows: Poverty, Chastity, Obedience. A monastic spirit had been strong in the east for three centuries, having been imported from the older religions where the ascetic spirit had been ancient and widespread. The Christian anchorites had been numerous; and many had engaged in revolting self-tortures and insane mortifications of the flesh. But the Benedictines presented something new in the monastic line, and especially in

three particulars: (1) The monks, not separated as hermits, became active members of a far-spreading association with a social impulse and a common life. (2) The ascetic temper, not disowned, was kept free from disabling mutilations and obedient to common sense. (3) While fleeing from the world, they mixed labor with their prayers and added service to their spirituality.

The Benedictines were Gregory's right hand. They caught his enthusiasm and became obedient to his spirit; and they carried out his plans most faithfully no matter how great the dangers or severe the labors. Wherever they dwelt, they were representatives and pioneers of civilization. They were gentle, peaceable and humble. In quiet industry they dignified labor, being at the same time valuable economic forces and noble illustrations of the spirit of the Master. They made their monasteries sheltered spots where the lamp of learning burned, even if with feeble flame. There, too, a refuge from sin and sorrow was found. For some centuries they helped to make the Roman church truly imperial by their manifold and fruitful services, which indeed were triumphs of unselfishness.

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See Allen, "Christian History," vol. I. chaps. vii., x., for an interesting outline of this period; Adams, "Civilization during the Middle Ages," chap. vi., and Emerton, "Introduction to the Middle Ages," chap. ix., supplement each other in a very interesting manner; Schaff, "History of the Christian Church," vol. III. chap. v., and Milman, "Latin Christianity," book II., give the facts more in detail; Stanley, "Christian Institutions," chap. xi, writes graphically of the Pope, the origin of his office and its functions; Ranke, "History of the Popes," vol. I chap. i, and Bryce, "Holy Roman Empire," chap. II., describe the influence which led to the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome. The stories noted at the head of this and other lessons may, as a rule, be found, briefly told at least, in Allen's "Christian History" by referring to the proper index. They may also be found in almost any Cyclopædia under the name mentioned.

## QUESTIONS ON LESSON VIII.

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Can Idol-worship be also Ideal-worship?

1. *The Greek Churches and the Roman Churches.*

What differences between these Churches in race and government and surroundings? How did the differences affect their respective beliefs? The final outcome?

2. *Idol-worship and the Moslem Protestants.*

How did men come at first to worship idols? Was it originally an upward or a downward step? Was it an attempt to realize an ideal of the deity? The Golden Calf (Bull)? The Olympian Zeus of Phidias?

How did Christians come to worship idols? Could idol-worship have been an upward step for some Christians (Barbarians), while it was a downward step for others (Hebrews)? Why?

What great prophet of Semitic blood protested against idol-worship? What effect did his protest have on the Arabs? On the oriental Christians? Leo, the Isaurian?

Is it idol-worship, or ideal-worship, when a Puritan refuses to have instrumental music in a church? Which is it, when a man thinks dancing wicked in a church but harmless in a home? Which is it, when a Russian peasant turns the picture of his saint to the wall before he commits a sin? Which is it, when a child lavishes love upon a doll? Can idol-breaking cure idol-worship?

3. *The Heretics of the Greek Church.*

Who were they? How did they become "fossilized?" What Apostles preached in Greek or wrote any part of the New Testament in that language?

4. *The Greek Church To-day.*

What is its condition now? What are its greatest needs? What is a democratic religion? A democratic God?

## Second Period:—Christianity in the Middle Ages: A. D. 440—A. D. 1453.

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### LESSON VIII.

#### The Oriental Churches.

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Chronology:—From the Synod of Toledo, A. D. 589, to the Council of Constantinople, A. D. 869. The story of the Iconoclasts (given by Gibbon, vol. V. pp. 1-40) may be told to children to illustrate symbolism in religion; and also as a lesson against both bigotry and superstition.

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#### I. THE GREAT DIVISION.

In 327 arose the new city, Constantinople, taking its name from the emperor who caused its building. It became a seat of government in the east and a rival to Rome. Over a half century later, 395, the Roman Empire was divided at the death of Theodosius between his two sons, Honorius ruling in the west and Arcadius in the east. From about the year 400 on we speak of the eastern as the Byzantine Empire. From this date, we note a decided cleavage between the civilizations centered in Rome and in Constantinople, started and deepened by the differences of the people in customs, policies and languages, Greek being used in the east and Latin in the west.

In the orient, to this day, we find the luxurious few and the starving masses, despotism and servility, economic stagnation and a passion for mystical speculation. In the occident, a devotion to affairs and a zeal

for conquest, the assertion of rights and a passion for progress, a more practical spirit and a more organic method. As time passed the tasks of government in each region became radically different. In the east, it was a problem of defence and preservation,—preservation of the treasures of art and learning, and, later, a defence of the Christian faith against the fierce assaults of Islam; in the west, it was a problem of conquest and reorganization,—a spiritual conquest of the barbaric invaders and a going forth to gather these children of the forest into churches and states.

Out of these differences arose other differences in the spirit and method of Christianity. In the east, the Greek philosopher, passing over into the church, became its minister and gave the Christian faith a philosophical interpretation. He dwelt on its mystical side and busied himself in discussing the problems of the Godhead. He was more interested in constructing a dogma than in making converts. Moreover, the inertia of the orient brought about two results: a deadening respect for tradition, making the church dogmatic and conservative; also an incorporation into the new faith of much of the sensualism of the old religions,—pagan symbolism and idolatry which the clergy were not energetic enough to exclude or abolish.

But in the occident, the Roman lawyer or magistrate, passing over into the church, gave Christianity a more legal interpretation and social organization. He was interested in its human and practical side. His chief



problems in theology had reference to the nature and redemption of man. He was devoted to the church as an institution. He was more intent on missions than speculations. He was full of practical enterprise. Not buried in traditions, but out in the world at work. Not afraid of progress, but ready to learn from experience and use new means to gain new power. Also, his peculiar opportunity led him in this different line. In the east the presence of the emperor, exercising supreme authority, together with the pride of church officials in Jerusalem, Antioch and Alexandria, with their zeal for precedence, made unity and strength of organization impossible. A Catholic hierarchy could not rise there. But in the west the ideals of imperialism, the presence of the invader creating the need of a central power, the immense mass of new people to be disciplined and organized,—all these things opened a wide door for ambition and action, and made a compact and comprehensive church necessary. These facts show that race distinctions are stronger than the Christian faith. They also illustrate the truth that Christianity itself is one of the variable natural products of all the forces comprehended in that complex system that we call civilization.

These influences had been at work separating the oriental churches from Rome for some years, when an addition to the trinitarian formula at a Synod in Toledo, in 589, brought the antagonism more to the front. In the older creed, the Holy Spirit is said to *proceed from the Father*. The Arians appealed

to this as proof of the *subordination* of the Son. And so, to deprive these enemies of the Catholic faith (the Arian Goths) of this argument, the representatives of Rome added the word *filioque*,—"and the Son," making the creed state that the Holy Spirit proceeds from both Father and Son, asserting and guarding in this way the equality of the Son with the Father.

This addition the eastern churches rejected: (1) because they were tenacious of traditions and set against innovations; (2) because it was a Roman expedient for which they felt no need and the source of which irritated them; (3) because the Greek language did not furnish an easy and precise equivalent for the word *filioque*. Over this point bitter and fanatical controversies, often resulting in the clash of arms, raged for nearly three centuries. To us it appears a trivial and obscure *mystery*, but then it seemed important, chiefly because linked with large public policies and radical differences of civilization. Finally, in the Fourth Council at Constantinople (the eighth ecumenical), in 879, the east decisively condemned the addition of *filioque*; and also resisted Rome's claim to supremacy in Bulgaria. Since that time, though union has often been discussed, the Roman Catholic church and the oriental churches have stood widely apart.

## II. MOSLEM AND ICONOCLAST.

If we look over the eastern churches about the year 600, it is a pitiable sight that we see. The Christian movement had stag-

nated. Lethargy existed everywhere, broken only by the bigotry of the petty ecclesiastic and the fierce violence of the incomprehensible controversialist. The activity left ran to repulsive asceticism or to hair-splitting discussions respecting the Christ, whether of dual or single nature, with one or with two wills. Christians had become idolaters, worshiping relics and carved and painted images; and almost polytheists, making a fourth God of the Virgin Mary, the worship of whom was a continuation of the Isis cult of Egypt. Of course there were exceptions; in places pure and gentle spirits, a few wise and earnest teachers; but no single great character for many a century.

Then in Arabia arose a great prophet, Mohammed, whose more public work dates from 622; and there was only ten years of it, but it was marvelous in activity and results. The faith which he preached is called *Islam*, and his followers *Moslems*. Islam has been regarded as a Christian heresy, as a reaction against the degraded Christianity just described. But it had more originality than this view allows; and yet it found its opportunity in the low state of the church in surrounding lands. It spread rapidly because it represented a simpler, purer, and more earnest religion than the nominal Christianity which it supplanted. It rolled on mightily for a century, laying hold of Jerusalem, taking possession of Alexandria, threatening Constantinople, spreading far westward and up into Spain, in a sweeping tide that Charles Martel stopped at Tours in 732. Islam is supreme faith in one God, *Allah*, "the mer-

ciful and compassionate," in immortality, and in salvation by good works. It has many errors and some gross superstitions, but it somehow fires its followers with tremendous zeal and loyalty; it creates deep hatred for idols and idolaters.

It was inevitable that under the stinging criticism of Moslems there would some day arise among eastern Christians a protest against the idolatrous practices of the churches. This came under Leo, the Isaurian, who, as emperor, in 726, led an attack (which became very violent) upon the use of all images, both carved and painted, which had been brought into the churches, making them much like pagan temples. He was leader of the *Iconoclasts*, or "image breakers," who acted much like the Puritans in Great Britain, furiously breaking, defacing, and burning all images of Jesus, Mary and the saints. It was a passionate destruction, born in good intent but barbarously executed. The fight was long and uncertain, marked by great cruelties and associated with base intrigues. After more than half a century of warfare, at the Second Council of Nicæa, in 789 (the seventh ecumenical), a compromise was reached which has shaped the practice of the Greek churches since that day: pictures are allowed, but statues or carved figures are prohibited. The Roman Catholic church then took little part in this controversy. The abuses were not so great at that time in the west. But the Catholic, now as then, uses the symbolism of both kinds of images.

## III. GREEK AND HERETICAL CHURCHES.

Curious specimens of fossilized Christianity are the heretical oriental churches. The chief ones to be noted are: (1) The Syrian, the withered remnant of the oldest Gentile church, whose chief pastor resides at Antioch. Its small membership is split into bitter factions. (2) The Armenian, a race church like the others, whose people are in many ways interesting. Their quietness, thrift and steadfastness make them the Quakers of the east. They split off after the council of Chalcedon, 451, rejecting the dogma of two natures in Jesus as there stated. (3) The Coptic, sunk in dense ignorance but the only living representative of ancient Egypt. Its clergy confer the Holy Spirit at ordination by breathing upon the candidate; they practice in salutation the universal kiss, and they give great prominence to children in their religious services. (4) The Abyssinian, dating from the fourth century and composed of three million half-Christianized savages; a curious mixture of pagan, Jewish and Christian elements. They observe both Sunday and the Jewish Sabbath. An ark, modeled after that in the Jewish temple, occupies the most sacred spot in their churches, and before it a dance is preformed as part of their worship. Their Bible contains the Book of Enoch; a collection of apocalypses much read about Jesus's time, and valuable in New Testament studies. They still wrangle over the obscure mysteries of Christ's nature.

The Greek churches include nearly one fifth of the population of Christendom. That

of Greece, and the regions adjacent, is really the mother church. It uses the same language, though modified, in which the Apostles preached and in which they wrote the New Testament. St. Sophia, at Constantinople (built in the sixth century and now occupied by Moslems), is its noblest flowering in architecture, for years the finest church in Christendom. During the middle ages its priests were the learned men of the Christian church. Its brave resistance for ages to Islam merits our continued praise. Its daughter, the Orthodox Greek church of Russia, similar in all essential particulars, was founded about the year 1000. The Czar is its autocratic head (ruling through a synod whose members he appoints), father and priest of his people. Its holy city is Moscow; its holy temples are within the Kremlin in that city.

#### IV. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE GREEK CHURCHES.

The story of these churches for the past thousand years (one in creed and ritual, but sharply divided by race lines), while not destitute of heroic names and interesting incidents, is quite monotonous and not very instructive. A full description of their faith, ritual and organization cannot be attempted here; but a few things may be set down. Their creed (not used as a doctrinal test so much as an adoring confession) is what was formulated at the first four councils,—Nicæa to Chalcedon,—which confines their theology to the mysteries of the Godhead and the nature of Christ. Unlike the Catholics, they have never denied the laity the use of the

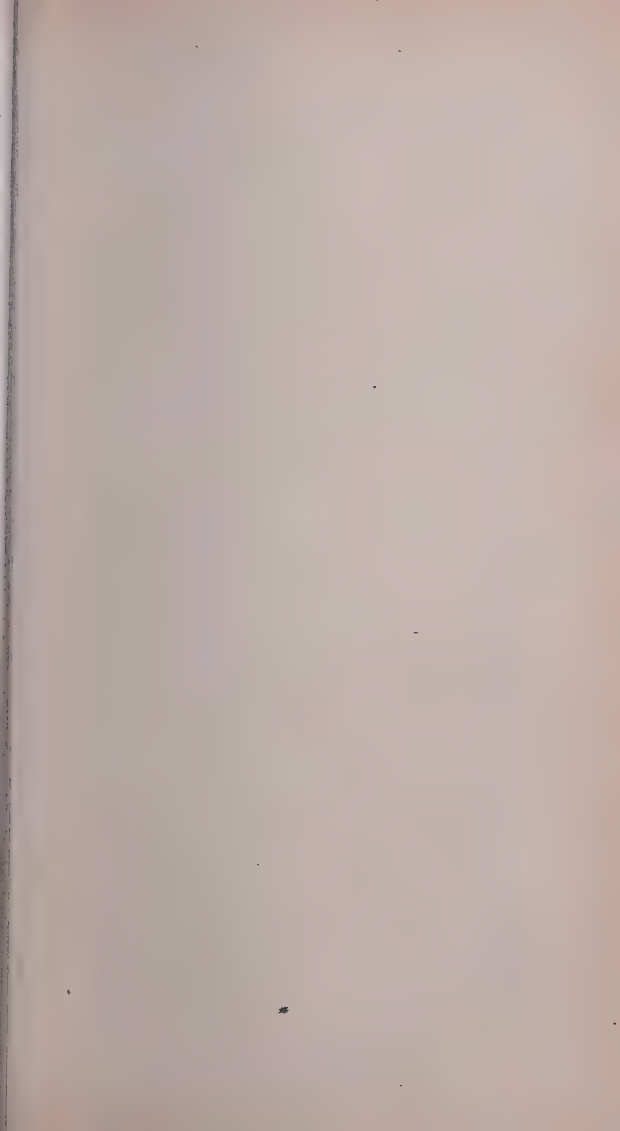
Bible in the mother tongue; but, unlike the Protestants, they make little use of it in religious instruction. In fact, religious instruction as known to Catholic and Protestant has little place in the Greek churches. The parish clergy are married before ordination (the higher officials are unmarried monks), but they cannot marry the second time. They lack the authority of the Catholic priest and they do not have the social position of the Protestant minister. Destitute of enterprise and poorly educated, yet many are gentle, kind and helpful. There is no congregational life, as with Protestants, and no energetic brotherhoods, as with Catholics. The monastic spirit is strong, but it runs to isolated hermit life rather than to associated work. The Greek churches do nothing in missions or practical benevolence. Religion is presented to the people chiefly as a worship. There is very little preaching. Ceremonies are gorgeous and elaborate; the ritual is impressive but with no aid from musical instruments. The sacramental idea is dominant; and the rites of the church are sought for their supposed magical power. Paintings abound, but no carved images. Baptism is a threefold immersion. The ceremony of the Eucharist is similar to the Catholic mass, but the cup is free to the laity, and infants are given the bread. The parish priest is poor, bigoted and superstitious; the church dignitary is intolerant, ostentatious and autocratic. Let us try to appreciate all that is beautiful and helpful in the Greek churches. But surely the gospel has there been overlaid by many

superstitions, while human nature has been cramped by dogma and rite. They need the three great modern forces, both destructive and creative: Education, Science, Democracy.

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Allen, "Christian History," vol. i., chap. ix., treats the earlier topics of this lesson; and Stanley, "Eastern Church," Lectures i., ix., the later; Gibbon, "Decline and Fall," vol. v., pp. 1-40, Schaff, "History of the Christian Church," vol. iv., chap. v., and Trench "Mediæval Church History," chap. vii., describe the Iconoclasts and related subjects; Tozer's "The Church and the Eastern Empire" is a valuable manual; Wallace, "Russia," chaps. iv., xxvii., describes the state of religion at present.





## QUESTIONS ON LESSON IX.

Is it Christianity that makes men civilized, or Civilization that makes men Christian?

1. *German Conquest of Rome: Social Shatter, 400-750.*

Civilization falling in ruins! What was the overturning deluge-force? The very darkest centuries, when? Yet "the hope of the world lay in those rude men,"—why? Without that darkness, could we have had our nineteenth century light? Who, perhaps, saved you from being a Mohammedan? What gods that Clovis worshiped do you still honor every week? What kind of gods? (Longfellow's "King Olaf," I.) Did he change his gods when he was baptized? What good did the conversion do his people? ("King Olaf," XXII.) And what to the Roman Church?

2. *Roman Conquest of Germany; Boniface, the Apostle.*

But Rome was conquering as well as being conquered,—how? Boniface—how did he show the hero? how the statesman? The story of the Geismar oak? and of his martyrdom? "Be baptized or die!" ("King Olaf," VII., XI.) Of the three great missionary religions, which one owes no conquests to the sword? Do the foreign missionaries today do good? Should we help them?

3. *Charlemagne the Civilizer: the Holy Roman Empire.*

The Jews' "Messianic Hope," Jesus's "Kingdom of Heaven," Augustine's "City of God" (Lesson VI.), Leo's and Gregory's "Spiritual Rome" (Lesson VII.),—are they all one ideal, one hope? Do we still share the hope? Charlemagne's favorite book? How did he try to make its ideal real? Why is he Charlemagne? What springs up always around the memories of men like Charlemagne and Boniface? Tell some of the Charlemagne legends. The Holy Roman Empire,—what was it in theory? what in service? what in fate?

4. *The German Contribution to Christianity.*

The Jews gave what to Christianity? The Greeks, what? The Romans, what? And now the Germans, what (1) to its church festivals, etc? (2) to its moral ideals? (3) to its political institutions? (4) to its religious progress? Was Luther and his work the result of Christianity, or of his race? What does the modern world owe to Saxon influence? (Lowell's poem, "Voyage to Vinland," III.) What became of the old German gods?

## Second Period: Christianity in the Middle Ages: A. D. 440—A. D. 1453.

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### LESSON IX.

#### Teutonic Christianity.

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Chronology:—The Eighth Century. The Great Missionary:—Boniface, 680-755. The Great Teacher:—Alcuin, 735-804. The Great Statesman:—Charlemagne, 742-814. Two Interesting Stories:—The conversion of Clovis, and Boniface's destruction of the sacred oak at Geismar.

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#### I. THE POLITICAL FORTUNES OF THREE CENTURIES.

The story of the church in the Middle Ages is especially the story of European civilization. The fifth century had witnessed a great movement of new peoples southward; the migratory instinct was in full force. The Romans left England in 411, and a generation later the Anglo-Saxons entered the island. About this time, the Franks (a Germanic people) pressed down and across the lower Rhine. By 490, their leader, Clovis, by force of arms and crude statesmanship, had given his people prominence, and had given himself a firm standing as heir of the Roman power in Gaul. His wife, Clotilda, was a devout Orthodox Christian in full sympathy with Rome, and she used her influence against the Arians, who were in the majority among all her Gothic neighbors and kinsmen. During a battle at Strassburg in 496 with the Alemanni, Clovis promised to

become a Christian if successful. When he won the battle, he kept his promise, and was baptized with some three thousand of his followers. Little of the gentle spirit of Jesus did these rough warriors appreciate; but this act was of immense importance, for it put them under the instruction of the greatest civilizing agent then in existence.

The conversion of Clovis, however superficial, was important in another way; it marks a turning point in history. The church of Rome needed a powerful ally among these northmen to represent her on that great field of action, subjugating the Arians and winning the followers of pagan Gods, Odin and Thor, to the Christian faith. Clovis and his people needed what only Rome could give: teachers in religion and civility, who could speak with the authority which the name of Rome still possessed, and who could instruct them in Christian civilization. Roman priest and Frankish people came together for mutual benefit, as though long seeking each other. Each gave just what the other needed. The priest secured a sword against pagan and Arian; the Franks, intelligent guides. This union meant the triumph of Orthodoxy. The Arian Burgundians became tributary to Clovis in 500; and everywhere, often in cruel fashion, he forced Christianity upon the children of the forest. The missionary of Rome now had the military power of a great northern ruler behind him; the Bishop of Rome had a powerful soldier to help him against heretics.

This work was well begun by Clovis; but

the next two centuries, sixth and seventh (the real Dark Ages), were times of great disorder and apparent decline. The contest just mentioned was being worked out in detail with petty strife and endless cruelties. In laying a broader foundation for civilization among these new peoples, there seemed to be a general ruin, but it was really a preparation for progress on a larger scale. The area of civilization was being enlarged, but the harvest in spots temporarily declined. Well over the threshold of the eighth century, we find a great leader, Charles Martel, mayor of the palace, and practically ruler of the Franks from 714 to 741. Under him (he turned back the Moslems at Tours in 732) the darkness began to lessen.

## II. THE CONQUESTS OF BONIFACE.

Just as Charles was starting on his career a conqueror in another realm was beginning his life work, made possible because of the previous erection of this political platform. This was Boniface, born in England of Anglo-Saxon blood, whose Christianity was a fruitage of Augustine's work a century earlier. Boniface, while a young Benedictine monk, was made sad by the stories which he heard about this pagan kinsmen on the continent. He resolved to spend his life in efforts to convert them. In 715, he went into the country now called Holland, and began to preach. But the hearts of the people did not open to him, though he labored earnestly. They clung, in spite of his eloquence, to the forest gods of their fathers, whose names are pre-

served in some of our weekdays—a simple nature worship that found its home under giant trees. As has often happened at the beginning of great enterprises, his first work was a failure; but this result nerved him to more heroic efforts.

In 723, Boniface went to Rome for instruction and assistance. There he took an oath to make Germany Christian and keep it Catholic. The work which he did on his return entitles him to be called the Apostle of Germany, the founder of Teutonic Christianity. For thirty years he labored in dangers and against obstacles to bring the people into the Catholic church. He had great success, but only as the reward of tireless efforts, constant heroism, and great strategy. Intrigue and cruelty were not always absent. Often in danger from murder, hunger or storm, he traveled far and wide, preaching the gospel, founding monasteries, sending out missionaries, arguing with pagan priests or destroying their altars. When repulsed, he always returned, and generally to succeed. In 744 he founded his greatest monastery at Fulda, the northern home of the Benedictines. Like most churchmen, he was a great politician, and just before his death (at the hands of pagans), in return for many kindnesses from Charles Martel and in furtherance of what was manifest destiny (the family of Clovis had become inefficient), he crowned Charles's son, Pepin, king of the Franks, who in this way began the Carolingian house (752.)

The work of Boniface was superficial and even at times cruel. His converts were

generally only nominal Christians; and often made such by the threat: Be baptized or suffer death. To them at first, Christ and Mary were little more than Odin and Frigga under different names; the sacraments of the church only another magic more powerful than that of their former priests. And yet his work was on the whole great and fruitful. He put these converts on the highway of humanity, which finally led them from forest shadows and superstitions to industry and education; to the law of Rome, the art of Greece, the piety of Judea. They were now in touch with the highest civility that the world had produced; and this civility, planted in their strong natures, would some day bear a richer fruitage than the old. Just because he did this great work, legends grew up about the person of Boniface (stories that tell us how dragons died at his approach and the trees worshiped by the pagans fell as he made the sign of the cross), but in them we may trace the spirit and mastery of the man.

### III. CHARLEMAGNE AND THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE.

About the time that Boniface was founding Fulda, not far off a person was born who became one of the colossal figures of history,—Charles the Great. All that had been in preparation for the three centuries since Clovis, what had been ripening under Charles Martel and Boniface, came to expression in his long reign of nearly half a century (ending in 814), which was the close of the old and the beginning of a new era. Coming to the

throne in 768, he spent his early years in bringing the Arian Lombards under subjection and fighting the Moors in the south; while in the north he fought the pagan Saxons. The terrible slaughter at Verden left a stain of cruelty upon his name. Later, when his vast realm—about all of western Europe—was well in hand, he traveled incessantly and devoted himself with tireless zeal and great activity to the erection of churches, the founding of monasteries, the fostering of trade and agriculture, the organization of schools, the making of books, the framing of laws and the creating of courts. It was the good fortune of the Roman church and the cause of civilization that this masterful leader threw his mighty influence on the side of Orthodox Christianity, and spent his energies in behalf of law and order, education and literature. All very crude as yet, but a good beginning.

Charlemagne's favorite book was Augustine's "City of God," and its magnificent ideal of a great Christian commonwealth deeply moved him. For its realization he planned and toiled. The times were auspicious. The east and west were permanently divided; Irene, who occupied the throne at Constantinople, could easily be considered a usurper; the pope wanted a great emperor with whom he could work. On Christmas day, 800, while at worship in Rome, the pope crowned Charlemagne as successor of the Cæsars, and the Holy Roman Empire (lasting in name until 1806) began to be. The theory was grand: a universal empire in league with the universal church; the old imperialism Chris-



tianized; the kingdoms of the world federated under a supreme ruler who is the servant of Christ! Powerful as a glorious dream, but never fully realized.

For a time Charlemagne seemed a fulfilment of this generous hope, but at his death things fell apart. The scheme was somewhat premature; the people were not yet ready for it. Nevertheless, it lasted long enough to kindle an inspiration, to lift up a brilliant ideal, to create a sense of unity that were never lost. To follow in his footsteps became the ambition of princes; and in time a Holy Roman Empire became an actual dispensation among the nations. The work of Charlemagne left its mark in numberless new agencies of civility; it planted a powerful factor in the imagination of men. The breadth and independence of his mind are seen in the treatise which he caused to be written on the Image Controversy. He held the fanatical Iconoclasts to be wrong, for images may properly be used as helps in worship; but he freely condemned, as idolatrous, practices which even Rome then approved. His friendship to Rome was warm, but it was the manly friendship of a man who felt himself to be the master rather than a mere servant.

#### IV. WHAT THE GERMANS CONTRIBUTED.

Christianity in becoming the faith of the Teutonic mind was enriched and modified, as a plant is changed by putting it in new soil and climate. What happened in one direction may be seen in the festivals of Christmas and Easter. Both had long been

observed by the church. The Germanic peoples had also long kept a midwinter and spring holiday. What occurred was this: Much that belonged to the German celebrations passed over into the Christian festivals (the Christmas tree; the Easter eggs); so that the present spirit and manner of these occasions we owe very largely to our pagan forefathers. In many other ways, the beliefs and legends of those northern people, reshaped and renamed, flowed into the church. Results of another character occurred. Ancient religious ideals and practices were degraded. The sylvan spirit, formerly revered as a divinity, now became a demon to be feared; what was once a rite by which he was worshiped became a prohibited *black art*, survivals of which we have in the curious things connected with witchcraft.

The chief contribution, however, was neither new rites nor new dogmas, but a new moral spirit working in home and state. The Germans honored women, respected chastity, and made husband and wife equal in the home. These less sensual and more domestic customs and sentiments added to the church a higher moral tone, which endowed the individual with new sanctities, made Christianity more a religion of the home, and in time produced a revolt against the monastic ideal. Moreover, these Germans had a great political device, *the germ of representative government*, in which were wrapped up the principles of liberty and equality. They had the instincts of personal rights and individual freedom. They met to discuss policies and choose officials (foretypes of the New Eng-

land town meeting). They did a good deal to govern themselves. When they went into the church, they carried this spirit of independence with them; and it was a new thing in Christianity; a contribution of immense value, without which what we know as modern civilization could hardly have existed. For a time, it was weak; but it never died. Slowly it operated for the re-creation of Christianity itself. Hardly a century passed without some exponent of it, rising in opposition to the growing tyranny of Rome: Henry IV. in 1076; Barbarossa in 1177; Frederick II. in 1241. Then the full manhood of German liberty asserted itself in Luther and the Reformation.

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See Allen, "Christian History," vol. I. chaps. x., xi., for a general view of these topics; Trench, "Mediæval Church History," chap. vii., and Alzog, "Church History," vol. II. pp. 96-120, for both a Protestant and a Catholic estimate of Boniface; Schaff, "Church History," vol. IV. pp. 89-102, gives the legends that cluster about Boniface; Adams, "Civilization During the Middle Ages," chaps. vii., viii., and Emerton, "Introduction to the Middle Ages," chap. xiii., for a portraiture and estimate of Charlemagne; Bryce, "Holy Roman Empire," chap. v., is of great value on the topic which is the title of his book; Guizot, "Civilization in France," Lecture vi., is an interesting though an imperfect discussion of the Germanic element.

## QUESTIONS ON LESSON X.

How does the Chambered Nautilus of Holmes's poem build his shell? Do men thus build chambers out of which they must move, if they would live and grow?

### 1. *Feudalism.*

Was Feudalism the chamber of such a shell? Why did men build it? Why move out of it later? What new chamber did they move into? Are they moving out of monarchy now? Will they move out of democracy?

### 2. *Papacy.*

Is shell-building necessary for organic growth in religion? Do all religions build such chambered shells? What was one of the earliest chambers that Christianity built after it left the Hebrew chamber of its shell? What was the position of the pope at first? What new demands came with the spread of Christianity? What still larger demands with the fall of the Roman Empire?

### 3. *Papal Supremacy.*

How did the church use the "donation" and the "decretals" to build itself a larger chamber? How did this chamber affect Latin Christianity? How did it affect European civilization? What did Hildebrand have to do with it? How could a carpenter's son become pope? How did this make the papacy stronger than hereditary monarchy? Is it "natural selection?"

### 4. *The Mass and the Confessional.*

What was the Mass? How did it arise? How did the church use it? Was it a necessary chamber in the growing shell? What is meant by "penances?" What by "indulgences?" How did they arise? Are they natural stage of growth? Do our children still pass through them? How did the church use them and abuse them? Does any church still use hell as a penance and heaven as an indulgence?

What chamber did the Protestants build? How do the books of the Bible, in their origin and use, resemble the "forged decretals?" Can any chamber of any shell be made so strong that men cannot get out of it? Or so large that they cannot outgrow it? Do men have to come out of the Christian shell to reach their full stature? Will men ever outgrow shells altogether?

## Second Period: Christianity in the Middle Ages: A. D. 440—A. D. 1453.

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### LESSON X.

#### The Supremacy of the Papacy,

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Chronology:—The Eleventh Century. The great scholar, Anselm, 1033-1109. The great churchman, Hildebrand (Pope Gregory VII.), 1013-1085. An interesting story: Henry IV. at Canossa.

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#### I. POLITICAL DISORDERS.

The ninth century opened in a blaze of glory, with the closing years of Charlemagne. It became one of the darkest of the Dark Ages. Disorders grew thick under his weak son, Louis; they rapidly multiplied under his three grandsons, who were worse than weak, and who, in 843, divided the empire among them into approximately what we know as Germany, France and Italy. The perfect union of church and state had been an attractive policy, but cross purposes and rival ambitions brought innumerable conflicts. The ideal of one imperial power seemed realized for a time, but disrupting passions and divergent interests parted it into small pieces. The work had to be started again down at the foundation, and the empire had to be slowly built up from many units. In each locality, some strong man held what he could get, and made himself the *lord* of that region. His subordinates received tracts of land from him on condition of fealty and ser-

vice. They in turn held the common people as serfs attached to this land.

Out of these conditions arose what we call *Feudalism* (strong from 900 to 1300), a social and political system based on the tenure of land. It grouped the people in various graded ranks, held fast by the circumstance of birth. It meant the supremacy of the local baron, exacting service of all below him and paying little attention to any one above. These barons built castles; lived a free, wild life, and engaged in perpetual intrigue, war and plunder. There was no central authority, no common purpose; and for two centuries western Europe presented a dismal scene. And yet, in all this tumult, some larger statecraft was slowly learned; small districts clustered into principalities, and the beginnings of nations were made. Also, in time the lower orders fought their way up toward independence and equality. Feudalism was a temporary expedient, which, for a while, gave a certain amount of local order. The powerful were in a sense protectors; the masses were taught and developed through service. A rough school and yet a school, out of which came our modern times.

## II. PAPAL DISGRACES.

All these things made it hard for the church, which stood for unity and peace. The independence of local rulers stood in the way of papal policies; this made it difficult to win and discipline the people. The principle of heredity, central in feudalism, was opposed to the ideals of the gospel and

the interests of the church. It built up powerful families with ambitions of their own. The church itself became *feudalized*. The bishop himself became a temporal lord, a great land-owner, a slave-owner, a worldly prince with an army of his own. Here was a man who cared little about either religion or Rome. But more than this: The baron insisted on making his pets church officials, regardless of the wishes of the pope. This led, in many places, to a very degraded clergy, men of impure lives, who neglected their priestly duties, sided with rulers in oppression of the people, and sold church positions to the highest bidder, the crime of simony. In time a corrupt clergy would lead to corrupt popes. It was not surprising that in the tenth century the papal power at Rome fell into the hands of very bad men. The papacy became little more than a worldly government, and a very evil one, engaged in wars and sunk in debaucheries. The church was then very much degraded; the power of the pope very much weakened.

But here we must turn aside to look at another line of facts. As early as 600, Pope Gregory I. claimed that Constantine had given Italy to the bishop of Rome, making him a supreme temporal ruler. This came to be called the *donation* of Constantine. The popes claimed that this had been renewed by Pepin in 755 (who probably told the pope simply that he could keep what he could capture), and confirmed in a deed (now lost) by Charlemagne in 775. The truth seems to be that the donation of Constantine

is a pure fiction, and that Charlemagne, while friendly to the church, for the support of which he established in 779 a general tax called tithes, made no such grant to the pope, for he actually ruled in Italy as in other parts of the empire. But on these claims was based (and is still based) the claim of the pope to temporal power in Rome.

Papal ambition grew as the years passed, and sought to create supports for itself. About 857 appeared what purported to be authoritative letters, *decretals*, from Clement, the successor of Peter at Rome, and his followers in that office, asserting the superiority of the pope to all earthly government, and his right to make and unmake kings. We now know that these were forgeries, and they are called the "Forged Decretals." But for centuries they were used as genuine; they served the purpose of their creation; and upon these fictions the supremacy of the papacy was built. And yet, this papal power could not have been built had there not been conditions, which made some such power necessary, which wise leaders skilfully used; and used, too, often for the good of human society. The Catholic now admits the spurious character of these decretals, but claims that the principle they embody was laid down by Jesus in the commission that he gave to Peter! What we know is that even Leo I. and his successors waited for the approval of the Roman emperor before assuming the papal office, while in the tenth century the popes were virtually appointed by some one of the great secular powers.



## III. THE WORK OF HILDEBRAND.

By about 1050, affairs were nearing a crisis along the lines just described. The barons, in opposition to Rome, made their favorites bishops; the cause of religion was neglected; the papacy was weak and corrupt; the clergy were degraded and insubordinate. On the other hand, the secular governments did little for the higher interests of civilization. There was a craving for some great leader who would bring order out of confusion, establish authority, and give unity. The claims of the pope to supremacy were bearing fruit, and many were looking in this direction for deliverance. And then Hildebrand, a carpenter's son, born in Tuscany, whose promise as a lad gained for him a good education, appeared upon the scene, to reform the church and redeem society, by making the supremacy of the papacy a reality and infusing into it a new spirit. A man of immense resources, impressive bearing, powerful will, and tremendous energy, for twenty-four years he directed six popes in asserting the authority of the papacy, and then for twelve years, 1073-1085, he was himself pope, taking the name Gregory VII.

Hildebrand was a great politician, who knew how to use one power against another, taking advantage of the jealousies of kings and the disorders of the time to gain his point and advance the interests of Rome. He could touch men through their ambitions, leading some by their selfishness, while commanding others by appeals to their better nature. These policies Rome has since fol-

lowed; the papal system which he built up still endures.

The particular things which he accomplished were these: 1. He reformed the clergy, subjecting them to rigid discipline and inspiring them with a new spirit. He enforced the rule of celibacy, toward which the church had been growing; and this was done in a very hard and despotic manner. This gave the church a definite army, with no ties or ambitions except those that pointed churchward. 2. He put an end to "lay investiture," the privilege of the noble or king to appoint favorites to church positions. This brought all ecclesiastics directly and solely under command of the pope. 3. He asserted and maintained the superiority of the papacy to all temporal powers, and the right of the pope to make and unmake kings, using against rulers the two weapons: *excommunication*, which cuts the individual off from the church, and *interdict*, which lays a whole nation under condemnation, so that no church can be opened and no rite performed.

It was the latter that brought Henry IV. to plead with him at Canossa, where he kept the king standing in the cold for four days before he would receive the royal penitent. Hildebrand is, then, an interesting, but not an attractive figure. A great character, doing some useful things, but too worldly, too hard, too artful. It was a most marvelous system that he built, a despotism representing the supremacy of the intellect over brute force; but as unlike the spirit of Jesus as possible. He died in exile from Rome, but his

policy has been supreme in that city from that day until this.

#### IV. THE CHURCH AS A RELIGIOUS ADMINISTRATION.

Let us stop a moment and see what Christianity has become. Instead of being, as originally, a free and independent congregation, cultivating a corporate life in the spirit of Jesus, the church has become a scene of administration. The people are passive spectators. The clergy are not servants but a sacerdotal class, standing apart and ruling by fear rather than love. Instead of leading the people in instruction and fellowship and helpfulness, they administer to them sacraments and disciplines, chiefly through the *mass* and the *confessional*. Religion, that was formerly a desire and practice of righteousness, is now largely an affair of ritual.

The free and informal *supper* of the early church, a means of communion in the memory and spirit of Jesus, has grown to be a sacrifice (the mass), where God is supposed to become really incarnate in the bread and wine, which, loaded with magical powers, bring God into touch with the soul to pardon, defend and save. About this time the discussion arose respecting the manner in which God is present in these elements, whether symbolically the body and blood of Christ, or actually made into the real body and blood of the Lord, the latter being called the theory of the "Real Presence." And this theory prevailed—that in the sacrifice of the mass God mystically and miraculously comes

into the bread and wine, and, though they appear outwardly the same as before, they are actually the real body of Christ (the change is called *transubstantiation*), to partake of which is the one great means of salvation. God himself is there to protect from Satan and give everlasting life. Finally the wine, or the cup, was withheld from the laity, chiefly for two reasons: (1) from motives of economy; and (2) from fear of desecration by spilling it. This is the Catholic practice to-day; but the bread in the form of a wafer (called the *host*) is given to all communicants.

The public confession of the early time, connected with the beautiful grace of forgiveness, slowly changed into a sacramental rite, something with magical power in which a priest must participate. Leo I. insisted on private *auricular confession*. In the time of Hildebrand this was obligatory once a year. True confession, it was taught, includes three things: penitence of the heart, confession by word of mouth to a priest, absolution from punishment through some specific meritorious work,—a *penance*. For the latter a payment of money might be substituted,—called “the sale of indulgences.” The church asserted its power to pardon sin, and the terms on which it did this was an *indulgence*. It assumed that true repentance went along with the penance or payment; but this was not always the case, and around this point terrible abuses clustered.

As the priest alone could administer these sacraments, bringing God near in the mass and granting pardon in the confessional, the people themselves were destitute of religious

action and saving grace. They were utterly helpless; all this must come from the priest. It is easy to see what a tremendous power this system gave the church. Especially as those were times ruled by terrible fear of Satan and his omnipresent legion of fiends, against whom the priesthood could alone provide protection. To the people religion presented itself either as deliverance from demoniacal influence or the acquisition of merit through the rites of the church, and for both purposes the priest was necessary. The priesthood saw nothing for the church to do but dispense these means of grace in mass and confessional. Religion had become an administration of sacraments. The church, so equipped, was an engine of absolute and irresistible power, working sometimes in helpful ways for the good of humanity, but more often in those days selfish in motive and despotic in spirit.

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See Allen "Christian History," vol. II., chaps. I.-III., for a general survey of this field; Adams, "Civilization during the Middle Ages," chap. IX., gives an admirable account of Feudalism; Trench, "Mediæval Church History," chap. IX., presents an interesting sketch of Hildebrand; longer accounts, both Protestant and Catholic, may be found in Milman, "Latin Christianity," book VII., chap. I., and Alzog, "Church History," vol. II., pp. 481-510; Bryce, "Holy Roman Empire," chap. X., discusses these subjects in their larger relations; Stephens's "Hildebrand and his Times" is a useful manual; Emerton, "Mediæval Europe," chap. VIII., gives an extended and valuable description of the times and struggle of Hildebrand.

## QUESTIONS ON LESSON XI.

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Can good come out of evil? Let us see.

### 1. *Conditions and Causes.*

Where is the Christian's "Holy Land"? What made it that? Who owned that land a thousand years ago? What motive drew the trains of pilgrims to it? What events in the east at last invited a Crusade? Who brought the summons to the west? Who said to Europe, "Go"? And said so, why? Who went? and with what motives? with what badge?

### 2. *The Seven Crusades.*

The time-frame—what two centuries held the Crusades? The hero of the first? The hero (?) of the third? The hero of the last two? What was the greatest success the Christians won? Who owned the Holy Land when the Crusades were over? The Knightly Orders founded there? What was the "Children's Crusade"? (See Cyclopædia.) Have you ever read Scott's "Talisman"?

### 3. *The Darker Side.*

Were the Crusades "*Holy Wars*," as the Church said? To answer we must ask (1) their purpose, (2) their cost in cruelty and horror. Moslem or Christian, Saladin the Infidel or Louis the Saint (see Cyclopædia),—which shows to best advantage? Are these the only Crusades the Church has sent against heretics and infidels? Who are "Soldiers of the Cross" today?

### 4. *The Gains.*

Now count the gains. Tell how the Crusades began to break up Feudalism, and bring (1) new peace to warring Europe; (2) new industries and commerce; (3) new freedom to cities and to classes; (4) new sense of the rights of man and of social unity; (5) new intellectual culture; (6) new chivalry; (7) new place for woman.

Can good come out of evil? Have we seen?

"The Power, not ourselves, that works for righteousness!"

## Second Period: Christianity in the Middle Ages: A. D. 440—A. D. 1453.

### LESSON XI.

#### The Crusades and their Fruitage.

Chronology:—A. D. 1095—A. D. 1291. The first popular leader, Peter the Hermit. An interesting character, Richard the Lion-hearted. The most saintly person, St. Louis. The greatest Moslem leader, Saladin (1137-1193). The Stories of the Knights Templars and the Children's Crusade (1212) are interesting and picturesque.

#### I. CONDITIONS AND CAUSES.

For many years before the eleventh century, there had been a long period of petty feuds and neighborhood wars. The people were ready for larger enterprises, longing unconsciously for some great enthusiasm. There was a fear among the rulers that the Saracens would overrun the west unless the Christians marched against them in the east. The popes were working for mastery in temporal affairs, as the story of Hildebrand has shown us; and they saw that a popular movement against the Infidels (Moslems) would help them in many ways: 1. It would divert attention, turn aside opposition to new channels, and leave a free field for them to carry out their policies. 2. It would evoke an enthusiasm that they could direct, and open an opportunity for commanding leadership, all of which they could use to their advantage. 3. They hoped in this way to gain control over the oriental churches.

Events in the east began to invite such a movement. Jerusalem, the holy city, near which were located the places of Jesus's nativity, crucifixion and burial, fell into the hands of the Moslems in 638. For four centuries these Infidels had allowed the Christian pilgrims to these sacred spots to visit them in peaceable manner. The well-known Haroun al-Raschid had even sent the keys of the city to Charlemagne as a token of friendship. But the rise of the Turks in 1073, a more cruel and fanatical people, brought a great change. They oppressed and abused the pilgrims, who brought back to western Europe the harrowing stories of their ill treatment. Also, the emperor of the eastern empire, representing the Greek churches, called for help against these new foes, the fiercer Moslem Turks. When we remember how superstitious Christians then were; how they prized the water of the Jordan; what miracles they attributed to pieces of the cross, what joy they found in these pilgrimages by which they felt that they could wipe away their sins and gain heaven,—under these conditions of mind it seemed a terrible calamity to be shut out from the Holy Land. The feeling was deepening: It is an awful thing to have the sepulchre of our Lord in the hands of the Infidels!

A man called Peter the Hermit, a coarse but fiery spirit, whose importance has been exaggerated, came back from his pilgrimage and went about stirring people to tremendous excitement by his recitals of the horrors heaped upon the faithful. So that, when Pope Urban II. went to a council in Cler-



mont in 1095, he saw this excitement everywhere. He felt that the time had come for action. He preached a forcible sermon, ending with these words: "Take arms, then, Christians! to rescue the sepulchre of the Lord." He promised absolution to all who would go on this holy war. The great crowd surrounding the church took up the cry, "It is the will of God," and the *Crusades* were begun. All sorts of people went into the movement from all sorts of motives: some for mere adventure; some for plunder; some for hope of heaven; some from pure love of Jesus. Acting upon a suggestion made by the pope, they placed a *red cross* on their left shoulder: they were now *crusaders*.

## II. THE SEVEN CRUSADES.

Writers differ in their classification of these movements, but seven is the number usually given. The first impulsive outpouring, a mere mob of some three hundred thousand vagabonds under Peter the Hermit and Walter the Penniless, started out in 1095; but the last remnant perished at Nicæa. It was evident that there must be more system and wiser leaders. What then was the first Crusade was led eastward in 1097 by Godfrey of Flanders. After great slaughter, Jerusalem was taken in 1099, a Christian kingdom of Jerusalem was established, which lasted for nearly a century, and Godfrey was made its first king. In the occupation of the city the Christians engaged in the most unchristian cruelties. But there was a brighter side. Some time before cer-

tain men had established hospices (inns) for the accommodation of pilgrims near Jerusalem. Out of this now grew an order, the Knights of St. John, also called the *Hospitallers*. Later, in 1117, a kindred but rival order was founded, *Knights Templars*, to serve and guard the temple. Both in a way, however imperfectly, represented and fostered what is noblest in human nature, being expressions of the spirit of helpful service. It became the manliest ambition to protect the helpless pilgrims and to be of service in the humble duties of the temple.

After about fifty years this Christian kingdom of Jerusalem was sorely pressed by the Saracens, and, to give relief, a second Crusade was organized and led by the great monk and scholar, Bernard; but it proved a failure. Then, in 1187, Jerusalem was captured by Saladin; and, though an *infidel*, he was much more kind to the Christian captives than the Christians had been to the Moslems a hundred years before. Then followed in quick succession the third and fourth Crusades, which were the noblest in spirit and the greatest in extent. They represent the high tide of the crusading movement. The Germans were led by Barbarossa, the French by Philip, the English by Richard. These combined efforts occupied chiefly the decade, 1190-1200. The Christian armies marched up and down the Holy Land but accomplished little. The leaders quarreled and engaged in shameful plunder and horrible slaughter. All of this has been made familiar to us by Scott in his novel, "The Talisman." The last three

Crusades were more local and less important. In the fifth Frederick II. of Germany got possession of Jerusalem by treaty, 1229. But in 1244 the Moslems took it again; and then came the last two, largely French affairs, led by St. Louis, one in his youth, 1248; the other in 1270, in which he lost his life. In 1291 Acre fell and the last vestige of the Crusades disappeared.

### III. THE DARKER SIDE.

A man living about the year 1300 could well mourn over the defeat of a project that had long stirred Europe with a mighty enthusiasm. All that vast expenditure of blood and treasure, and yet the sepulchre in the hands of the infidel! Our first impulse today is to take as mournful but a different view of the Crusades. We are apt to say: As foolish a fanaticism as ever stirred mankind. As base, cruel, and ignoble a chapter as any in the history of the world. In comparison, how sweet the annals of the Buddhists seem! In contrast with their Moslem foes, how the Christians often call forth our shame and deserve our censure! Sometimes holy motives were present and noble deeds done; but the worst passions were often supreme and the basest actions common. It was largely greed for power that moved the popes. Wholesale plunder, dissipation and barbarity characterized the crusading hosts. Many took the cross for pillage and lust; others to escape the bonds of debt or service. On the way, great pleasure was found in slaughtering Jews. No wonder that the eastern people often cried out to be

delivered from the western brothers in the faith, who were worse than their Moslem neighbors.

#### IV. THE SUBSTANTIAL GAINS.

And yet the Crusades educated Europe in many directions. They illustrate how Providence makes a divine fruitage out of our feeble effort. We do not reach what we have desired, but a larger good issues from our striving. The crusaders did not gain permanent possession of the holy sepulchre, but their exertions in this line lifted them out of the graves of ignorance and superstition in which they had been buried,—a far larger good. However viewed, they represent one of the most unique and gigantic events of history, without a parallel in human annals. Even the negative results were important. They drained out of Christendom multitudes of reckless and dangerous men; the world gained by this riddance. They gave to the peoples of western Europe long periods of local peace, favorable to civility, scholarship and the arts. The *Truce of God*, lengthened on their account to four years, stilled passion and stopped bloodshed among themselves, and while the warriors were in the far east men of peace had their chance.

In this and other ways, the Crusades led to a political and economic reorganization of western civilization. Industries were developed, first, by the new demands for the equipments of these expeditions, and, secondly, by the absence of the soldiers,—their absence giving artisans a free field.

Guilds sprang up, and organized labor began to crowd aside military organizations. In having to equip his followers, the baron had to sell his land to raise funds, which multiplied the number of landowners and encouraged agriculture. Or he had to borrow money of a banker, and this increased the importance of the financial class. Princes and kings were willing, for sums of money, to grant privileges to municipalities; and this fact, with these industrial activities, built up villages and cities, where people had another ambition than that of warfare, and grew into a sense of personal rights and a desire for freedom. This marching back and forth between Europe and Asia opened up roads and encouraged commerce; the merchant and the trader appeared everywhere. All these forces made an active opposition to the aristocracy of rank and hereditary privilege belonging to feudalism. The Crusades themselves awoke Europe to a new consciousness of unity; a feeling of human brotherhood was fostered by the play of a common enthusiasm and service together in a great cause. Some realization of the worth of man as a man began to appear; and the thought slowly gathered strength until it finally created the modern state and modern society.

And there was also a moral and intellectual fruitage from these Crusades. They broadened the mental horizon; they gave that stimulating impulse which comes from comparison and contact with other forms of society; they quickened all those activities which we see today developed by foreign

travel; they revealed the good in the disciples of another master and created a more hospitable and tolerant spirit; they sowed broadcast in the western mind a knowledge of Greek literature and what passed as Arabic science; and they led in the end to a less brutal form of warfare, some recognition of honor and humanity. To the Crusades, also, we owe largely the development of *chivalry*, with its homage to woman and passion for gallantry, leading on in time to modern manners. As women in our last war came into new fields of labor and gained new power and prominence, so in those crusading times, the women went forward to new positions and became the center of a new social life and the objects of gracious and ennobling sentiments of devotion. And along with this very naturally went a larger worship of Mary, the mother of Jesus, which, with all its superstitions, dispensed many a sweet and tender lesson. In the first fruitage of the Crusades there was little that was definitely religious, but out of the common life which they produced, came, as we shall see, radical changes in the religion of Christendom.

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See Allen, "Christian History," vol. II. chap. IV., for a brief outline of the Crusades; Trench, "Mediæval Church History," chap. X., gives the religious motive and results; and Adams, "Civilization During the Middle Ages," chap. XI., traces the larger effects upon civilization; Emerton, "Mediæval Europe," chap. XI., tells the story clearly; Von Sybel, "History of the Crusades," is short but most valuable; Milman, "Latin Christianity," book VII., chap. VI., tells the story well; Gibbon, "Decline and Fall," chap. LVIII. and LIX., is still classic; Cox, "The Crusades," is the standard manual.



## QUESTIONS ON LESSON XII.

Read Longfellow's "Golden Legend" for a beautiful picture-gallery of the life in these "Dark Ages": pictures of the Cathedral, Confessional, Preaching, Miracle Plays, Madonna Worship, Relics and Images, Pilgrims, Dance of Death, Convent Life, Castle Life, Minnesinger and Crusader, Physicians, *Book-making* (see Part IV., 3), and *Scholastics* (Part VI., 1), and the power of Faith, Hope, Charity, amid all the darkness and corruption.

Shall we call it the "Age of Faith" or the "Age of Darkness"?

### 1. *The Long Darkness.*

How did people then explain a comet, a plague, a sickness, a sin, an accident? How do we? What is "the Devil"? Black magic and white magic,—is one truer than the other? What was the "Ordeal"? Was the Church at all to blame for the darkness?

### 2 and 3. *The Schoolmen and their Problems.*

*First gleam* in the darkness,—questioning *the Mass*: What is this miracle? Do Catholics still believe in it? The *meaning* in it? Does good meaning make fact? *Second gleam*,—questioning the *At-one-ment*: What was the old "ransom" theory of it? And Anselm's new "commercial" view? Can character—either good or bad—be transferred? and can there be salvation without character? *Third gleam*,—claiming *rights for Reason*: Who was the champion of Reason, and what his romantic story? Are you a "realist" or a "nominalist"? How many students in your State University to-day,—how many in Bologna, then? What two "finalities" in the universities of that time? What is the "finality" in ours? The three greatest names among those old schoolmen, and the two great books? How were books made then? Can one be "tremendously active" and do nothing? What good, then, came from all this word-building? What were they building at this very time besides "words, words"? And what great poem was the flowering of the whole movement?

### 4. *The Friars Gray and Black.*

How did they rise? How did they differ at first from the old monastic orders? And how from each other? Read some of the beautiful stories about St. Francis.



## Second Period: Christianity in the Middle Ages: A. D. 440—A. D. 1453.

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### LESSON XII.

#### The Scholars of the Cloister.

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Chronology: A. D. 1050--A. D. 1300. Events to remember: The Norman Conquest of England, 1066; the Crusades, 1095-1270; the founding of the Mendicant Orders, about 1220. The greatest scholastic, Thomas Aquinas, 1225-1274. The story of Abelard and Heloise is most romantic.

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#### I. THE LONG DARKNESS.

From Leo I. to Hildebrand (440-1073), we have been tracing, for six centuries, the history of action rather than thought, of organization rather than investigation, the influence of battles rather than books. With the break up of the old order and the invasion of the barbarians, artists, writers and philosophers ceased to exist. Schools and colleges were disbanded. Doctors and hospitals also disappeared. The only educated men of the time were the clergy of the Roman Catholic church. But their time was occupied in missions; their task was not study but discipline. In the monasteries where they lived something was done for literature and education; manuscripts were copied and young men were prepared for the priesthood. But these intellectual pursuits were secondary and incidental. There was not a great thinker from Augustine to the Crusades. Charlemagne made one bright spot by the

organization of *Cloister Schools*, but these were very much unlike our schools: few books, no apparatus; a few dry subjects learned by rote—grammar and arithmetic chiefly—and these studied not so much to make men as to make servants of the church.

Much in a way was *done* in those centuries, but the mental darkness was great. Along with this dense popular ignorance went superstitions innumerable and terrible. The people, priests included, thought of nature as the scene of warfare between angels and demons,—chiefly demons. Disease, blight, comets, storms,—everything peculiar and harmful was attributed to the activity of devils. This diabolical black magic operated everywhere. We cannot begin to realize how demonized the world looked to them, what horrible fears constantly possessed them. To uproot natural appetites, supposed to be created by Satan, self-torture was practised. To discover the guilt or innocence of persons charged with crime resort was made to most cruel *ordeals*. These demons hovered in droves about death beds. Their delight was the tormenting of the lost soul in hell. The popular mind was appalled by a reign of fears, fostered and used by the church for discipline and despotism. People lived in a world created by an imagination perverted by horrible beliefs and a morbid conscience. The only safety lay in resort to the white magic of the church,—the sacraments.

## II. THE SCHOLASTICS AND THEIR PROBLEMS.

About the beginning of the eleventh cen-

tury thought began to stir somewhat. And very naturally this activity began over what had become the center of religion,—*the Mass*, in which it was supposed that God becomes incarnate in the elements (bread and wine) used by the priest at the altar, and by which the believer may take into himself the divine grace which protects from the devils and redeems for heaven. Against some very coarse expressions in this connection—that the participant really bites into the body of God!—Berengar, about 1050, entered his criticism, for he took a more rational and spiritual view of the Mass. His protests were an attack upon these extreme phrases rather than a clear explanation; but they caused him trouble; and under persecution he seems to have played a weak part. His opponent, Lanfranc, defended the position of the church, asserting that the bread and wine actually become the real body of Christ that hung upon the cross: it is really God himself—a sacrament that brings him near to save and bless.

This may seem to us like an impious idolatry, but let us remember that it was a very gross and superstitious age that needed a somewhat crude symbolism. We must judge it, not by what it seems to us, but by what it meant to them, which was this: a perpetual incarnation of God to rescue and heal. It was well for people to feel somehow that the Almighty was really present to relieve and judge. Here debate began; and the debaters were the *Schoolmen*, the scholars of the time, whose name describes their peculiar character. They were servile students

of what others had written, mere defenders of church dogmas, not independent thinkers or original investigators. Philosophy was under vassalage to the church. There was no denial of dogma, but the other man's exposition of it was condemned. In a way, it was an effort to rationalize theology.

The real founder of *Scholasticism* was Anselm, bishop of Canterbury, a pupil of Lanfranc, whose work culminated about 1100. The book by which he is best known is *Cur Deus Homo* (Why did God become Man?), written in Latin, which was then the common language of scholars. It treats of the ministry of Jesus, the atonement, and contains about the only contribution made by the Middle Ages to theology. In a time when crime was regarded as a debt to be settled by a payment, the sinner was considered a debtor to Satan, to whom Jesus paid the ransom, thus releasing all who accepted the arrangement by faith. This had been the popular view of Jesus's redemptive work for centuries. But Anselm said, No! What existed was not a conflict between God and Satan over man, but between the attributes of God himself,—justice demanding his punishment, love pleading for his pardon. Anselm carried the matter up to the plane of God's being; and he further said: The love of God, in the form of Jesus, sacrifices itself to satisfy the demand of God's justice for punishment. So that God can save the sinner while also condemning his sin. It is a reconciliation of the attributes of the Divine Nature, by which God saves sinners and yet maintains the glory and dignity of his gov-

ernment. This infinite satisfaction offered by Jesus on the cross discharges the indebtedness of the believing sinner.

Anselm's theory of the atonement, commonly held in some form until this day, was in every way an advance upon the older view. But its defects are many and fatal: 1. It is contrary to moral law that merit should be so transferred; the character that saves has to be won by growth, it cannot be put on or reckoned commercially to one's credit. 2. It is a denial of the teachings of Jesus, who represented God as simply demanding repentance and righteousness. 3. It is too external and mechanical, a mere removal of judicial guilt, whereas what man needs is increase of Inner Life. 4. It hangs in the air, being untrue to the facts of life, and based on assumptions respecting the Divine Nature that we have no right to make.

While the crusader was in camp, the activity of the cloister produced Scholasticism. And scholastic philosophy is simply the dogmas of the church dressed up in the forms of Aristotelian logic. The wider study of Aristotle about this time created an intellectual awakening; contact with this Greek mind gave life. But the schoolmen made little progress, because they were not able to use his method freely to investigate nature and human life. They took his words and the church dogmas as finalities, and used his logic, not to discover truth, but to defend the creed.

This was illustrated by the memorable controversy between Abelard and Bernard in

the second quarter of the twelfth century. Abelard was an intellectual free-lance, active, acute and ingenious in debate; brilliant but superficial; he attacked popular views, but advanced nothing new. Bernard was dogmatic, arrogant, and revengeful; he knew how to silence, if he could not answer, his opponent. As a stout churchman, he opposed Abelard, not so much for the particular things that he taught, but because he feared such a free use of reason. These men do not represent any progress in truth-finding, but a great outburst of intellectual activity, which showed itself at this time in the crowds that flocked to the universities at Paris, Oxford and Bologna (with 20,000 students!).

Scholasticism culminated in the last part of the thirteenth century, especially in three men: Albert the Great,—the Herbert Spencer of his time,—who arranged what passed as knowledge in a vast encyclopædic system; Thomas Aquinas, who made a full and powerful exposition of the position and faith of the church, whose *Summa* the present pope has commended to his clergy; and Duns Scotus (born in 1274, the year that Aquinas died), who represented a new departure in that he loved philosophy itself as a pursuit of truth rather than as a mere defence of dogma, whose followers were called *Scotists* as those of Aquinas were called *Thomists*. Later came William of Occam, 1280-1343 (the great defender of *Nominalism*), who, helped on by the more naturalistic views streaming in here and there from the Arabic schools still in Moorish Spain, carried his indepen-

dent criticism of theology so far that he suffered persecution for heresy. The party cries of the scholastics were *realism* and *nominalism*, referring to an obscure problem which little interests us: Are general names—man, horse, tree—simply convenient terms which the mind applies to groups of similar objects (*nominalism*), or is there a real entity in the universe, *the horse*, previous to and aside from the individual horses which we see (*realism*)? The strict churchmen, Anselm and Aquinas, were *realists*. This question seemed important because linked with interpretations of ritual and dogma.

### III. FRUITS AND FAILURES.

The pages which these schoolmen wrote seem to us dull, barren and trivial. It is easy to ridicule the frivolous problems of their debate: How many angels can stand on the point of a needle? Is it as man or as God that Jesus sits on the right hand of God? It is all *words, words*; no reality, no appeal to experience, no discovery of truth; mere speculation and slavish use of authority. And yet, when we consider the material at hand and their method of work, we marvel at their patient industry, their tremendous activity, their keen ingenuity and their massive achievements. They represent a transition from brute force to the mastery of mind. Any intellectual activity was better than gross animalism. Poor thinking would lead to better thinking; thinking under bondage to thinking in freedom. It meant a new kind of life, with an idea uppermost, which in its maturity would break the bonds. These Gothic sys-

terms of thought let loose the mental energy that worked in the building era of Gothic cathedrals.

Even then there were gleams of something better. Roger Bacon, 1214-1294, turned away from theology, and by crude experiments in place of mere speculations, became one of the forerunners of modern science. Eckhart, the German mystic, 1260-1329, spiritualized theology in the line of a freer reason and a more human interpretation, claiming that the soul by its native impulses reaches a private and direct communion with God. And both these had to bear the shame of heresy. Scholasticism had its flowering in the pages of Dante, who put the philosophy of Aquinas into the imagery of immortal verse. The *Divine Comedy* gathers the glory of the age of faith into a wondrous sheaf of light. And the proximity of Dante's death (1321) to the birth of Wiclif (1324) reminds us that we are near a great transition.

#### IV. FRANCISCANS AND DOMINICANS.

In time this intellectual activity produced reflection and inquiry. Some began to consider the state of society, so chaotic and sensuous, and ask: What can be done? The church had become chiefly an administration of sacraments, with little preaching and few ministries of mercy. And then St. Francis, an Italian, a wonderfully sweet, gentle and merciful man, stepped forth to work for the poor and the distressed. He founded the order of Franciscans (beginning as early as 1209), known as the *Gray Friars*, to rebuke sensual luxury by the example of



poverty and to rescue the poor by works of helpfulness.

This new mental life also caused men to ask troublesome questions about the creed. Unbelief and infidelity began to appear. To destroy this heresy and win back those wanderers to the church, Dominic, a Spaniard, about the same time, organized the order of Dominicans, known as *Black Friars*. Both these orders (often at sword's points) were alike in this: They were *Mendicants*. Unlike former monastics, they had no fixed habitations, but wandered about, living on alms. They were also both especially devoted to preaching, but with this difference: The Franciscans appealed to sentiment and served the poor; the Dominicans, of sterner spirit, were devoted to more serious doctrinal instruction and were intent on crushing heresy. We shall see more of them in the next lesson. For a long time, the Franciscans did a noble work; and there was much in the character of St. Francis to win our admiration. He loved humanity even more than he loved the church, and he never became a priest.

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See Allen, "Christian History," vol. II., chap. VIII., for a description of Scholastic Theology (pp. 151-157, for brief references to Franciscans and Dominicans); Trench, "Mediæval Church History," chaps. XIV., XVI. and XVIII., describes the Schoolmen and the Mendicants; Milman, "Latin Christianity," book XIV., chap. III., gives a good *Protestant*, and Alzog, "Church History," vol. II., p. 728-784, a good *Catholic* estimate of Scholasticism; Townsend, "The Great Schoolmen of the Middle Ages," is an interesting manual; Ueberweg, "History of Philosophy," vol. I., pp. 355-456, is a full and standard exposition of scholastic theories; Sabatier, "St. Francis Assisi," is valuable for its fine religious appreciation and for the light which it sheds upon this period; Emerton, "Mediæval Europe," pp. 446-465, describes the intellectual life of this period.

## QUESTIONS ON LESSON XIII.

What does "miscreant" mean? And "heresy?" Were the early Christians heretics? Is it a *crime* to differ from neighbors about God or Jesus or the Bible?

### 1. *The Golden Age of the Papacy.*

When was it? How do Catholics themselves describe the clergy of that age? What was to prove stronger than the strongest Pope?

### 2. *The Twelfth Century Protestants.*

What have bad morals in the clergy to do with heresies? But why could heresies spring up in 1200, and not in 1000? Where was the garden of the heresies? "The Poor Men of Lyons," "The Pure Men" of Toulouse,—which were like early Christians, which like early Gnostics? What had they in common? (Read E. E. Hale's "In His Name.")

### 3. *A Home Crusade.*

What crushed these heretics? Who was responsible for the horrors of the Crusade? Who were their agents?

### 4. *The Inquisition.*

Why say "Spanish Inquisition" to name the most fiendish thing in Christian history? Who was Bruno? and Galileo? (Cyclopædia.) How long did this devil's work last?

But were they all devils who did these things? In a bishop's place in 1300, why would you perhaps have helped the Inquisition? Does the Catholic Church still fear free thought? Would it persecute, if it could? Do Catholics today defend the Inquisition?

Have Protestants ever burnt people for thinking? Who was Servetus? Who had him burnt? What did almost all Protestants say to that burning? (Cyclopædia.) Why was it worse for Protestants to persecute than for Catholics? Do Protestants still persecute? What sects have the best record for toleration? In what countries are Christians persecuting still?

Three stages: (1) Persecution, (2) Toleration, (3) Liberality. What has brought about the change? The difference between Toleration and Liberality? Which are you,—tolerant or liberal?

"In essentials, Unity; in non-essentials, Liberty; in all things, Charity."

## Second Period: Christianity in the Middle Ages: A. D. 440—A. D. 1453.

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### LESSON XIII.

#### The Heretic and the Inquisitor.

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Chronology:—From the beginning of the Albigensian Crusade, 1208, to the Spanish Inquisition, 1481. The greatest pope, Innocent III., 1198-1216. The greatest stroke for freedom, the winning of the *Magna Charta* by the Barons from King John, 1215. Two most cruel characters, Simon de Montfort, first quarter of the thirteenth century, and Torquemada, last quarter of the fifteenth century.

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#### I. THE SITUATION.

If we take our stand in western Europe about the year 1200, and look around and also glance backward, what we see is this: Three crusades in the hundred years before had come and gone; another was about to start. The sepulchre was in the hands of the infidel. The great Christian leaders Barbarossa and Richard, and their opponent, Saladin, were dead. Innocent III., just made pope, represented the papal power at its greatest glory and widest dominion. Constantinople paid him tribute and for a moment the eastern churches yielded him obedience. Everywhere bishops were servile and kings were submissive. Frederick, whose domain stretched from Germany to Sicily, was his ward; the powerful king of Aragon was his vassal; and King John of England was his tool. Outwardly

all seemed strong and secure, and the pope might feel: At last the dreams of Leo, Gregory and Hildebrand are fulfilled!

But, out of sight, influences were at work which would upset all these calculations. Thoughts were stirring; and *thoughts* are the enemies of despotism, stronger than armed soldiers or papal bulls. The schoolmen had been active for a century. The universities were crowded. Abelard had dared to criticize. The great scholastics, Albert and Aquinas, had not yet subjugated the minds of men by their ponderous and dogmatic systems. Out from the Alps, where remnants of Arian and non-Catholic peoples had survived, came Peter of Bruys, about 1120, and, going to Toulouse, he preached against Romish superstitions and made a great bonfire of crosses. After 1150, Arnold of Brescia, a disciple of Abelard, by appealing to the patriotism of Italy, had maintained, for a time, an opposition republic at Rome. All this was local and erratic, but it revealed an undercurrent of mental restlessness and religious revolt.

But the moral degradation of the church has always been most productive of heresy. And the corruption of the church at this time was great. The pope, with no world's public opinion to keep him in check as today, was cruelly selfish, basely ambitious, and arrogantly despotic. The bishops were responsible only to Rome; the more servile, the more successful. As judges, they took bribes; as leaders, they sold their influence; as churchmen, they winked at corruption and exercised cruel tyranny. The common priests,

cut off from family ties and made independent of the civil government, became lazy, sensual and greedy. They openly sold their influence to the highest bidder and bought their way to prominence. They used their sacred office to gratify lust, hatred and every base appetite. There were many who were guilty of almost every possible vice. Alzog, a Catholic historian, freely admits: numbers of the clergy were "the slaves of their passions, worldly-minded, lovers of pleasure, avaricious, and simoniacal."

## II. THE UPSPRINGING HERESIES.

For centuries, the common people had been too ignorant to investigate, too superstitious to doubt. The leaders had been too much engaged in warfare to oppose the pope or foster local independence. Formerly the priests had been too much devoted to missions to become thinkers, more recently too corrupt to care for God or man. But new forces were now active: the stimulus of the Crusades, the spreading intellectual awakening, the reaction against papal tyranny and priestly corruption.

And the outbreak first showed itself in the beautiful and fertile region, called *Languedoc*, sloping northward from the Pyrenees. In this garden spot of France, people were rich enough to have some leisure. Leisure made travel and culture possible. And culture led to the inquiring mind and the independent spirit. Proximity to the great schools in Spain, both Christian and Moorish, helped in the same direction. The new life first showed itself to the northeast of this territory.

Lyons became the center of a movement toward *Bible Christianity*. Peter Waldo, a rich merchant of Lyons, had the Bible translated into *Romance*, the language of the people. He gave his property (about 1160) to help spread the evangelical form of Christianity, which grew out of this Bible reading. This was not so much an open, direct attack upon the Catholic Church, as a movement for the reform of abuses and a return to the gospel. These *Waldenses*, or "Poor Men of Lyons" (remnants of the movement still exist), represented a simple and austere piety, the craving of sober, unlettered men for a more spiritual religion. Waldo visited Rome for the pope's favor, and he just missed being the head of a recognized brotherhood like St. Francis. In time these Waldenses separated farther and farther from Rome; and they showed almost superhuman patience and perseverance under the horrible persecutions showered upon them for ages.

Farther to the west, and centering in the neighborhood of Toulouse, were those called *Cathari*, or "the pure." They made a bold and direct attack upon the Roman Catholic Church, involving its creed, rites and organization. We know them chiefly from the reports of their enemies, and it is difficult to tell just what their position was. Some of their doctrines came from the east and seem to have been a curious mixture of nature-worship and Christian tradition. In philosophy, they asserted the oriental theory of *dualism*: seeing in the universe a gigantic conflict between good and evil,—the

evil being rooted in matter. They denounced the reverence paid to the cross as idolatry; the mass was to them a mere mumble of senseless words; they saw no special sanctity in the elements of the Supper; they declared the pope destitute of authority and the priest devoid of sacerdotal influence. The priest has power, they said, and should be obeyed, so far as he is pure and wise, and no farther. In morals they seem to have been austere and almost ascetic, holding, it is said, that it was possible to reach a state of absolute purity,—hence their name. They had a well organized church system; and it was reported that they paid tribute to a pope living in Bulgaria. This much seems clear: They brought to a focus the growing opposition to Romish dogma and priestly corruption, and the movement was powerful and persistent, not so much on its own merits, as from a hatred of Rome.

### III. THE ALBIGENSIAN CRUSADE.

At the Third Lateran Council in 1179, a two years' indulgence was granted to those who would take up arms against these and other heretics; and rulers were ordered to confiscate their property and reduce them to slavery. Churchmen argued: If a crusade against the infidel in the east is God's service, why not a crusade against the heretic at our very door? The gathering storm burst upon Languedoc, when an envoy of Pope Innocent III. was killed in the presence of Raymond of Toulouse, who was friendly to the Cathari. The pope called for vengeance; besought the faithful to shed without mercy

the blood of the heretics; commanded the bishops to destroy them root and branch; and offered the principality to anyone who should conquer it for the church. And at once, in 1208, Simon de Montfort led a crusading army against these heretics. For twenty years one of the bloodiest and most horrible wars in human annals was waged in that region. Political hatreds and ambitions entered into it; but it was chiefly a war of extermination against the Cathari, or Albigenses, as they were called from Albi, the center of this religious activity. Its awful atrocities were approved by the pope; and it was at the massacre at Beziers that a churchman cried out: "Kill them all, God will know his own!"

#### IV. THE INQUISITION.

These persistent protests against the immorality of the priests, these denials of the church creed and attacks upon her authority, which neither fire, sword nor threats of future damnation could overcome, carried the hierarchy to the point of extreme wrath and dread. Rome felt that her very life was at stake. Something decisive must be done to crush these monstrous heresies, to destroy these enemies of God. A system of *inquisition* had long been used to hunt down and punish heretics. At the outbreak of the Albigensian Crusade, the bishops were given special duties in this line. A little later, the Dominican Friars took up this work and became active as *inquisitors*, and their founder, Dominic, was especially zealous in these terrible cruelties.

But the enemy was so hard to crush and



the danger so great that about 1231 the "Inquisition" as a special institution was organized to act directly under the pope for the destruction of heresy. It consisted of special commissioners, clothed with peculiar and absolute powers,—men who went in dark disguise with stealthy tread, eagle eye and cruel heart all over the country, following up with a detective's instinct every bit of gossip respecting this and that unbeliever. They offered all who would furnish testimony against such persons the pardon of their sins and a part of the property of the accused. This in itself was enough to create innumerable false accusations: a most horrible appeal to greed! When the inquisitor tracked down the heretic, he was tried in secret, ignorant of the witnesses against him; and with no one to plead his case. The proceeding was swift and summary; the decision final and absolute. The victim was handed over to the state for execution; the church herself did not shed his blood, but she was guilty of it, for she commanded her servant, the state, to do it. From 1252 the most fiendish tortures were invented and applied: the torments of cold, hunger and thirst; the excruciating pains of the rack and similar agencies. And this, worse than death, was applied by the priests themselves to men and women whose only crime was a new thought! The business was so great that in 1262 an Inquisitor General was appointed. This official was very busy for years.

What is known as the *Spanish Inquisition* came two centuries later, beginning in 1481. In that year, two thousand Jews, Moors, and

heretical Christians suffered torture and death in Spain alone by this agency. Then came the blackest pages of human history: the horrible *auto da fé*, the wholesale slaughter under Torquemada, tortures and torments worse than fiendish. Thus perished in Spain over 300,000 down to the year 1808, when the inquisition was abolished by Napoleon. Meanwhile, thousands fell before the inquisition in other lands; Bruno in 1600, and Galileo hurried to his grave by it as late as 1642.

Strange as it may seem, otherwise gentle people worked frantically in this line. The church madly and blindly followed its instinct of self-preservation. It felt that to tolerate unbelief was to die; it must crush opposition or perish. It was an insanity of religious enthusiasm. The awful mistake of making a crime of free thought, of putting an institution above humanity. It was no new thing in Christendom. By the end of the fourth century church and state united to put infidels to death. The Arians as a rule were more tolerant and merciful. But for four centuries after 1200, the Catholic inquisitors blackened the history of Europe with most terrible atrocities. Nothing so horrible is found in all the world outside Christendom. The church made investigation a sin, punished free thought as a crime, and barred the way of mental progress by the torture of the rack and the martyrdom of the stake. Let it be frankly said that Protestants have cruelly shed Catholic blood and inhumanly persecuted people for their religious opinions. But we must remember:

1. Persecutions among Protestants have

been local and temporary; there has been no "Protestant Inquisition." 2. The theory and policy of toleration and religious freedom were originated and established by Protestants. 3. It was owing to the pressure of Protestantism that the Catholic church abandoned the Inquisition.

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Allen, "Christian History," vol. II., chap. VII., tells in brief the story of the persecution of the Heretics; Trench, "Mediæval Church History," chap. XVII., describes the Waldenses; Michel, "History of France," vol. I., book V., chap. VII., gives a graphic description of the Albigensian Crusade; Emerton, "Mediæval Europe," chap. X., treats these subjects clearly; Lea, "The Inquisition," vol. I., chaps. I.—VIII., presents a full and accurate account; Alzog, "Church History," vol. III., pp. 191-269, shows us what Catholics find to say of Protestant persecutions.

## QUESTIONS ON LESSON XIV.

Reason, or Rome,—Which?

1. *Brief Review of Middle Ages.*—What two floods of invasion overwhelmed the Classic civilization, 400—700? What became of the old Roman Empire? What new form of society rose in its place? And what two powers towered at its head? The greatest emperor? The greatest pope? Then to what did Feudalism in its turn gradually give place?

Serfs, Guilds, Knights, Chivalry, Crusades,—a word of each? Missionaries, Schoolmen, Monks, Heretics, Inquisitors,—a word of each? 440—1453: what do the two dates stand for? What happened in 1492?

2. *Contrasts.*—Take a “Middle Age” walk and tell what you see on the road,—what men, what buildings.

2 and 3. *Religion in those Days.*—What had the simple gospel of Jesus become? What three-fold purpose did the system serve? What are the Catholic’s seven Sacraments? They help him how?—and why not you?

*Madonna and Saint-worship?*—*Their* saint and *our* saint,—the difference? Was there demon-worship, too? The images and pictures,—was this “idolatry”? The cross and relics,—was this “fetichism”? Purgatory,—do you not believe in it? Have *we* any idolatries and superstitions? Was that age more religious than ours?

4. *The Average Man’s Religious Life.*—What did the boy learn? What would the man see and feel and do in church? What is a *Pater Noster*, an *Ave Maria*, a confession? How many Sundays a week had he? What if his baby were sick? What if his father had died? What if he had done wrong? Are “indulgences” permits to sin? Do these things continue in the Catholic Church to-day?

On the whole, has this Church done good or harm? Is it still a blessing? It “drove out the men who think,”—with what result?



If not in a hurry to press on, six beautiful lessons, all story and picture, might be inserted after this lesson, to illustrate further the Christianity of the Middle Ages. See Allen’s History, Mrs. Clement’s “Legendary Art,” and the cyclopædias for material. (1) Legends of the Saints (St. Cecelia, St. Catherine, St. George, St. Christopher, St. Nicholas). (2) Madonna Worship. (3) Monasteries. (4) Cathedrals. (5) St. Francis. (6) Dante.

## Second Period: Christianity in the Middle Ages: A. D. 440—A. D. 1453.

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### LESSON XIV.

#### Religion at the Close of the Middle Ages.

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Things to Remember: The Era of Cathedral building, 1200—1400. The Black Death, 1348—1351. The Flagellants, 1355—1400. The Capture of Constantinople by the Moslem Turks, 1453. The most remarkable character, Joan of Arc, 1411—1431. The death of Dante in whom the Middle Ages flowered in song, 1321. Columbus's discovery of America, opening a new world and beginning a new era, 1492.

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#### I. A BRIEF REVIEW.

In the thousand years from Pope Leo I. to the fall of Constantinople a great deal had happened in Europe and western Asia. The east and west had been permanently separated, the Byzantine Empire ruling in the orient, the Holy Roman Empire rising later in the occident. In Arabia Islam had arisen, and the Moslems had overrun the east, laid hold of parts of Italy, and for over five centuries had maintained the glories of Moorish civilization in Spain. The northmen had swept south, the missionaries had toiled northward, and the Bishop of Rome had gathered the churches to himself and made the papacy an imperial power. The long darkness was broken by Charlemagne for a time. Out of the Roman policy of holding land and the Teutonic custom of service came Feudalism, to be broken down by the

Crusades, papal strategy, and the growth of the national spirit. Finally, the schoolmen lighted up their cloisters with the lamp of learning. Heretics began to attack the church. The inquisition applied the rack and burned unbelievers at the stake. The monks had strewn the land with monasteries. The feudallords reared castles. Around mill and market clustered towns. At last, from out their bosom arose town hall and cathedral. In England, the people were coming to the front; in Germany and Italy, great cities were powerful; in France, principalities were knitting together into a nation; in Spain, a great state was well organized and the last of the Moors had gone in 1492.

## II. CONTRASTS: THEN AND NOW.

Human society then presented more marked contrasts than today, while the differences between that time and this seem very striking. A few gaily dressed princes on one side, and on the other vast masses of serfs, ignorant, destitute and servile. Traveling the same rough road might be seen the mailed knight, watching for his enemy; and the unarmed priest, safe with his simple staff. On one hand, nothing but passion, disorder and bloodshed; on the other, the lonely monk obeyed without question, the church a sacred refuge whose sanctity all respected, the oaths made upon its relics kept with awe and fear. Massive castles on the hills for the nobility; the people of the village crowded into mean huts with straw roofs and dirt floors. Out in the wide world, a whirlwind of passion, feasting and revelry;

in the quiet cloisters, fasting and a sweet serenity such as is seldom found today. Everywhere, the ascetic and the sensualist, the man of blood and the apostle of peace jostle each other! Certainly this is a picture very unlike that presented to us by modern society.

And many other differences are noticeable. The most prominent objects of the landscape then were monasteries, which were to be seen everywhere. The fields about them were the most fertile to be found. And no wonder; for thousands of slaves were attached to some of them. They were crowded with monks who at this time were indolent and luxurious in their habit of life. The church was then a lawgiver, dispensing what is called *canon law*. The clergy administered laws of their own, independent of the state, respecting wills, marriages, church offences and many things which now belong to our civil courts. The reverence paid to *relics* was universal and excessive. A bit of the cross, a drop of Jesus's blood, a garment worn by him (none genuine), were worshiped by many more than God himself.

The mental world of the people was very narrow and barren. Without any knowledge of history, they thought Christianity alone divine and obeyed the priests implicitly. With no knowledge of nature, they saw the activity of demons everywhere, and lived under the burden of fears more terrible than we can imagine,—tenfold worse than those of Salem witchcraft days. Led by a morbid conscience under the control of imagination rather than reason, they gave themselves to

fears and tears, seeking salvation by poverty and self-torture, whereas we put our emphasis on development and industry. They had as much zeal for obedience as we for independence. *Their saint* was a lean ascetic, torturing his body and living in filth; *our saint* is a perfectly developed man, using his strength to serve humanity. Then the church spirit controlled everything: education, government, social custom and private ambition. Today the *secular spirit* (more truly religious in the best sense) is far more prominent and powerful.

### III. THINGS ESTABLISHED AS RELIGION.

Out of the simple and spiritual gospel of Jesus, by additions from various sources, had been built up slowly through these centuries a *sacramental system*, which the church administered as the Christian religion; but in it there was very little of the original Christianity. These *sacraments*, seven in number (something in which God is supposed to be miraculously present), were symbols of doctrines and channels for the communication of saving grace. 1. *Baptism* at birth in the name of Father, Son and Holy Spirit, to remove the guilt of Adam's sin and protect from Satan. 2. *Confirmation*, which made the young person on the threshold of life feel for a moment that he belonged wholly to God. 3. The *Mass*, where at the words spoken by the priest, God comes into the elements on the altar (Eucharist), making them the very body of Christ, conveying life eternal,—the central point of faith around which everything else revolved. 4. *Penance*, imposed in the confessional to re-



move sin and secure blessings for others. 5. *Extreme Unction* to calm and console the dying. 6. *Marriage*. 7. *Holy Orders* for members of the priesthood. However superstitious or idolatrous all this may seem to us, let us remember: (a) It bound up a person's whole life in a bond of sanctities. (b) It enforced the habit of obedience for things both human and divine. (c) It administered hope and comfort.

To us the religion of the time seems crude even to gross idolatry. Pictures and carved images of the *Madonna*, the mother of Jesus, were everywhere. To them a reverence amounting to worship was paid. Her name was more used in prayers than that of God. The good side of this was the emphasis put on the ideal of womanhood and the thought of divine mercy. The bad part was the coarse materialism mixed with an almost sensual passion. Cross and crucifix were also everywhere, and used constantly as though full of magical influence. A great many *saints* were given reverence, making religion almost a polytheism. But even these sacred memories enriched the common faith with many ideal forces making for righteousness. A belief in *purgatory* softened the doom of the sinner and provided a means of discipline. By the help of the church friends could save their dear ones after death; and the church used these powers as a mighty engine of discipline for the living.

#### IV. THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE AVERAGE MAN.

The church taught the young people three things: The Ten Commandments, the Lord's

Prayer, the Nicene Creed,—and this was a good deal for those days. At confirmation, the lad felt himself in the company of God's elect. In church he looked up at madonna, crucifix and the figure of the saint framed in the beautiful stained glass window, and felt: These are all mine for protection and salvation! He saw the priest at the altar bring God himself into the *elements*, and when the *wafer* touched his tongue, he believed that he had fed upon the body of the Lord! Between his passions and his superstitions, he was often uneasy; but by bowing before the crucifix, by reciting *Pater Nosters*, by appealing to the Virgin Mary in the prayer, *Ave Maria*, he felt sure that he drove off the devils and settled with God for his sins. He paid his tithes to the church and went to confession. He was married by the priest; and when a child was born, it was baptized at once to protect it from the demons. When it fell sick, a *relic* was brought from the church to drive away the evil spirits of disease.

About every fourth day brought some special church celebration, fast or saint's day, but this man seldom heard a sermon. The service of the church was in an unknown tongue. The Bible he seldom saw and never read. There was little in religion that appealed to love, nothing that fed his intelligence, and little that applied directly in favor of conduct or character. The church stood for mystery; it created awe and appealed to fear. Now and then, in violent re-action, it provided a grotesque frolic in its "festival of fools," when the church was given over to

coarse fun and the priest acted the part of clown.

When this man made some money, a part of it was spent to pay the priest for saying masses to placate God's wrath toward his sins, or for the benefit of the soul of some departed friend, that he might in this way be released from purgatory; and this show of sympathy helped him, if it did not reach the dead. To quiet his conscience, he bought an *indulgence*, a release from the punishment following upon wrong doing. In theory, an indulgence (granted by the church from its power to forgive, out of its vast treasure of merit) to be effectual must be accompanied by sincere penitence, and it is in no sense a *license* to commit sin. But, in practice, it is easily misused to escape punishment in a gross commercial way, and the effect of the system is to break down the sense of moral responsibility, by leading people to think that they can easily protect themselves against the penalties and consequences of sin. In seasons of calamity, such as that caused by the Black Death (which swept off 25,000,000 people), the superstitious fears cultivated by the church would so expand that a great terror would sweep this man into some sort of self-torture like that of the Flagellants.

We must not think too unkindly of the Catholic church of those days. Its superstitions were many and its faults serious. It used the fear of purgatory to strengthen its power, the rack and the stake to persecute truth seekers, and sold indulgences as the one great means of revenue. But it also often led

in noble works of charity. In many ways it sheltered the poor and befriended the oppressed and outcast. Some of its priests lived pure lives, and exemplified the graces of meekness, tenderness and self-sacrifice. When, however, we remember its vast resources and unlimited authority, we are constrained to condemn it for doing so little to train men in character and so much to discourage the progress of mankind.

Another fact to remember is this: Religion, in the hands of the Catholic church, did grow throughout the Middle Ages; but the Catholic religion of today is almost precisely what it was in the thirteenth century, when it stopped growing. If the people of that time should come out of their graves today, they would find themselves at home in every Romish church the world over. It has paid the penalty of its intolerance by a permanent arrest of development. In driving out into Protestantism the men who must think, it so far stifled its own life, lost the leadership of the world, and committed to other hands the prolific agencies of endless human progress.

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See Allen's "Christian History," vol. II., chap. IX., for glimpses of the religious life of this period; Emerton, "Mediæval Europe," chap. XVI., states many interesting facts clearly; Trench, "Mediæval Church History," chap. XVIII., gives an appreciative review; Dexter, "Congregationalism as seen in its Literature," lecture I., paints a graphic picture, though perhaps too dark; Fisher, "History of the Christian Church," period VI. chap. VI., presents a very sympathetic Protestant view; Lea, "The Inquisition," vol. III., chaps. VIII. and IX., goes into details with fairness and accuracy; Gibbons, "Faith of our Fathers," especially chaps. XIX., XXIII. and XXVII., explains Catholic symbols and sacraments briefly and clearly from the Catholic point of view.



## QUESTIONS ON LESSON XV.

"Through the ages one increasing purpose runs  
And the thoughts of men are widened with the process  
of the suns."

1. *Transition*.—What does "Renaissance" mean? What renaissance comes every year? What is the "new birth" in a human life? What nation in the east today is going through a renaissance? Are *we* living in a renaissance era?

The great Renaissance in Christendom,—when was it? Causes that led to it:—

(1) New Inventions—three: What changes did each bring about?

(2) New Industries: Describe the old commerce and the new. What were the Guilds? How did the "Black Death" help the new life?

(3) New Politics: The rise of the Free Cities and the modern Nations,—how did each come about? What is the "Third Estate"?

(4) New Learning: What was it? Who brought it to the west? Islam's threefold share in the Christian Renaissance? What "two new worlds" began to open, and why were their explorers called "Humanists"?

(5) New Voyages: What did the two great sailors contribute to Christendom's new birth?

Was it just a reformation in religion, then, or something vastly larger, that was coming?

2. *Papal Degradation*.—But why was reformation in the church so terribly needed? (Dante saw five Popes in Hell!) The "Babylonish Captivity" and the "Great Schism,"—what were they? Their consequences? What three famous fourteenth-century poets picture their wicked church? Had the Councils succeeded in reforming, would there have been the Protestant Revolution?

3. *Wiclif*.—The "Morning-star of the Reformation,"—was it a single or a double star? What dim star-cluster rose nearly 200 years before this (Lesson XIII.), and how long was it still to sunrise? What did Wiclif say of pope, mass, indulgences, scripture, salvation? How did he make his light to shine through England? Could *we* read this English Bible he made? Who was Huss, and what his fate? (Cyclopædia.) Did Huss and Wiclif *fail*?

4. *Savonarola*.—Who, when, and where? The two Savonarolas—tell the bright story, and the sad one. Why is he a "warning" as well as an inspiration? Why had the Reformation, when it came, to be a *German* Reformation?

## Third Period: Christianity since the Reformation: A. D. 1517—A. D. 1789.

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### LESSON XV.

#### Foregleams and Preparations.

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Chronology: Fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The Babylonish Captivity, 1309-1378. The Great Schism, 1378-1417. The two literary critics of the church: Petrarch, 1304-1374; Chaucer, 1328-1400. The three great characters: The English Radical, Wiclif, 1324-1384; the Bohemian Martyr, John Huss, 1369-1415; the Italian Prophet, Savonarola, 1452-1498. The worst pope, Alexander VI., 1492-1503. Two great literary events: Wiclif's Translation of the Bible, 1383, and, a generation later, *The Imitation of Christ*, by Thomas a Kempis.

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#### I. THE TRANSITION TO MODERN TIMES.

As we have traced affairs from about 1200 onward, we have noticed several things. The old order seems everywhere to be breaking up, we constantly run across new facts and creative forces; there is an unrest that indicates that something great is going to happen. And we must look upon the *Reformation* as vastly more than a breaking away from the Catholic church; more than merely a religious movement. A revolution in civilization was in progress. A change in the basis, spirit and ideal of society was made, of which Protestantism was one of the religious phases.

Certain revolutionary agencies were working powerfully on this large stage. (1) The *mariner's compass* had been brought from the

east about 1200. This stimulated maritime discoveries, enlarging the scope and quickening the spirit of trade and commerce. These new ambitions led people away from the church and supplanted the ecclesiastical by the secular ideal. (2) In the century following, *gunpowder* came into use (probably through the Moors); and this changed the character of warfare. Among its general influences, was its tendency to discourage petty wars and to equalize prince and peasant. (3) The invention of *printing* multiplied man's intellectual resources and quickened thought. It reduced books to one fifth of their former price. And how modern this great agency seems: Gutenberg's first Latin Bible was printed in 1455!

Other great forces of a political nature were at work. The national spirit became very strong by the year 1400. After Pope Boniface VIII., 1294-1303, French kings were masters of the papacy. What is called the *Golden Bull*, 1356, liberated the politics of Germany from papal domination. The growth of cities was rapid throughout the fifteenth century. From greedy pope and needy king, they bought or conquered the municipal privileges of freedom. The training of citizenship in them prepared people for national citizenship and equipped them with patriotism toward the state,—all forces diverting popular attention from the church. The *trade guilds* that arose in them, representing industrial activities and fostering secular ambitions, worked in the same way. Everywhere, industrial pursuits were turning people from theological problems to practical duties;



from blind faith and obedience to the habit of inquiry and the desire for liberty. The "Black Death" made labor high and gave the toilers left more room and larger privileges, and this with other causes hastened a social revolution and the rise of a secular, independent middle class.

But perhaps more than anything else, what is called the "new learning" was preparing the way for a new and higher faith and civilization. From the Moors in Spain, western Europe had learned a little science, and, through translations, something of Greek philosophy; in arithmetic the Arabic numbers and the decimal system. The returned crusaders brought home manuscripts, and men began to study Plato, Aristotle and the literature of Athens in the original and to read the New Testament in Greek. On the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, its scholars fled with their books to the universities of the west and increased the activities in the same line.

This *new learning* was chiefly the study of Greek, which opened wide doors into two new worlds: (1) It carried students face to face with the thinkers and writers of ancient Athens; into a rich and beautiful realm where all was natural, rational and human. This study was a revelation and an inspiration. Students came out of it *humanists*. It liberated thought from dogma, the heart from fears, the individual from the despotism of the church. (2) The study of the New Testament in Greek led to a discovery of Jesus and the emancipation of the soul. People found that the gospel of Jesus meant

simply a life of love and purity; that the early church had no priesthood and no sacraments; that the original Christianity represented a moral purpose rather than a scheme of dogmas. This new intellectual life, free and human, much of it more pagan than Christian, was the *renaissance* which prepared the way for the Reformation.

## II. THE PAPAL DEGRADATION.

Other influences, productive of radical changes, were at work. The church was dying at the top from moral blight. Priest and monk were becoming objects of contempt. When a French cardinal was made pope, Clement V., the papacy was moved from Rome to Avignon to be under French control, and there it remained for nearly a century,—what is known as the “Babylonish captivity,” 1309-1378. The papal court there fell to a condition of intrigue, servility, venality, and corruption sad to contemplate. Its vices were vividly pictured by Petrarch. These evils finally culminated in a passionate division. In 1378, there were two popes: Urban VI. backed by Italy, Clement VII. supported by France. Thirty years later, the consecration of Alexander V., at Pisa, gave the church *three popes*. The scandal of Christendom was immense. Three infallible heads of the church at once, each claiming to be the supreme representative of God, and all corrupt politicians of the worst character! This *great schism* was brought to an end at the council of Constance in 1417, and the church was reunited under Pope Martin V.

But the papacy had been greatly weakened and permanently disgraced. During these disorders the cause of religion suffered, and the clergy rapidly degenerated. Meetings were held at Pisa and Basel to correct abuses, and one large council at Constance, 1414-1418, where a distinguished Frenchman, Gerson, toiled for reform, but all these efforts accomplished very little. The state of the church was most deplorable. Of it, Alzog, the eminent Catholic historian, frankly writes: "Relaxation and dissoluteness infected every member of the church, from the highest to the lowest; stem and branch languished, barren and dishonored." Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* throw light upon the situation. The disorder and corruption were so great that even Cardinal Cæsarini, the papal legate at Basel in 1437, predicted a violent revolution.

### III. WICLIF, THE MORNING STAR OF THE REFORMATION.

It did not need a prophet to say this. The revolution was already in progress. In England, a bold reformer had done radical work nearly a century before. Recent investigations surprise us in two ways: They show us that John Wiclif was a greater man than we had thought; while we marvel that he so peaceably did so thorough a work. But, born in 1324, his life extended through the long reign of Edward III., 1327-1377, when the English people, engaged in the Hundred Years' War with France, were violently opposed to the popes, who were tools of France. He was also protected by two

other facts: He was backed by the University of Oxford, of which he was a professor; he was also supported by the common people, who were pressing to the front, and who saw in him their advocate and defender. The peasants' uprising under Wat Tyler occurred near the close of his life.

And what was Wiclif's work and teaching? As a student of the new learning and an advocate of "Gospel Christianity," he made a bold attack upon the dogmas, rites and priesthood of the Catholic church. But he did not stop here; he organized a band of preachers who went about teaching these things and helping the people. He was a powerful and prolific writer, and when a little passed forty he issued his great work, *De Dominio Divino*. The central theme of this treatise is a discussion of the origin and nature of *spiritual and secular power*. He denied that power (or authority) flows solely through sacrament and hierarchy, the Catholic claim, and he asserted that it descends directly from God by grace to the individual, and depends upon personal service and true ministry. This doctrine struck at the root of all tyrannies, in state and church, and made Wiclif a good deal of a democrat or even socialist, when these terms were unknown.

From this position, Wiclif went on to teach: (1) That the pope has no rightful supremacy and the priest no right to interfere in state affairs. (2) That the mass is no true sacrament, the confessional needless, indulgences a great evil, the monastic spirit a mistake, poverty as a religious ideal a false

motive. (3) That the Scriptures should be given to the common people and made the supreme rule of faith and practice. (4) That salvation depends upon life in the spirit of Jesus. These statements show that his attack was bold, his teaching radical, his interpretation of Christianity popular and spiritual.

The wonder is that a man who taught these things in England in the fourteenth century should have lived and died in peace, which he did, though his last days were overcast with trouble and opposition. The explanation has been hinted. Certainly he made a noble beginning of reform. His translation of the Bible was widely read; his preachers went far and near; his influence was deep and far reaching, spreading to the university of Prague and raising up John Huss, who was shamefully put to death by the council of Constance in 1415, which also ordered Wiclif's bones to be dug up and burned! The Hussite War lasted about a score of years in Bohemia, and though the Catholics there stamped out the new faith, the Bohemians won the right of the laity to the cup,—the only place where this is allowed in the Romish church. A reaction followed in England; but the *Lollards* kept his influence alive in obscure places; and it yielded a noble harvest in after years.

#### IV. THE WORK OF SAVONAROLA.

The city of Florence was at this time one of the greatest centers of culture,—prominent in art, learning and luxury, more pagan in spirit than Christian. The new learning, in

breaking down the old church restraints, left many for the time being without moral earnestness, living a free but careless life, worshipers of the beautiful but not servants of the good. Into Florence in 1490 came Savonarola, a monk not quite forty years old. He was a man of deep piety, of large learning, of great moral fervor, and of passionate eloquence. He at once became the great preacher of the town. With fiery speech he denounced the vices of its people, the intrigues of its rulers, the shameful conduct of its priests, the frivolity of its women, the gross paganism of its general life. A close student of Hebrew prophecy, he used the Scriptures with telling effect against the corruption of the time. He did not attack the rites or dogmas of the church, but he called loudly for its reform, for a return to meekness, simplicity and purity. He engaged in a crusade against every popular form of evil. He demanded obedience to the spirit of true Christianity. He was a great preacher of righteousness.

In less than five years, Savonarola won the heart of the city. He swayed the populace by his word. The enthusiasm of a great moral revival filled Florence. Remorse and repentance worked among the people. Out of the political disorders of the time (the powerful family of the Medici had fallen) arose a republic, of which this prophet was the real but not the official head. And then Savonarola began to have visions. Excitement had turned his head. He became a fanatic and did many foolish things. It was easy now for the crafty pope, Alexander VI.

(whose son Caesar Borgia, was such a monster), to use his mistakes to overthrow this earnest reformer. This he accomplished, and Savonarola was tortured and put to death in 1498. His story is full of deep interest and grave warning. His work shows how religious passion fails when unguided by reason and unconnected with social agencies. Sentiment alone makes a *revival*, but to it intelligence must be added to make a *reformation*. The influence of Savonarola was helpful, but there was not moral earnestness enough in Italy to make it permanent, while the papacy was too strong to allow a reform to succeed there. The battle was surely coming, but it would not be fought in Italy. The inquisition made it impossible in Spain; political conditions were unfavorable for such a work in France; but beyond the Rhine to the north there was an open field.

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See Allen, "Christian History," vol. II. chap. XI., for a brief survey of this field; Seebohm, "Protestant Revolution," pp. 55-74, and Fisher, "History of the Reformation," chaps. I.-III., narrate the facts; Beard, "The Reformation," lecture I., unites narration and interpretation; Adams, "Civilization during the Middle Ages," chaps. XV., XVI., is interesting and helpful; Trench, "Mediæval Church History," chap. XXVI., gives a brief review, and Symonds, "Italian Renaissance: Revival of Learning," vol. I., a full description of the *New Learning*; Trench, "Mediæval Church History," chap. XXI., tells briefly the story of Wiclif; Poole, "Life of Wiclif," is the best short sketch; Ranke, "History of the Popes," vol. I. chap. II., Taine, "English Literature," book II. chap. I., and Green, "English People," vol. I., pp. 393-468, shed light on this period; George Eliot, "Romola," clearly paints the picture of Savonarola.

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Charles Reade's "Cloister and Hearth" gives brilliant Renaissance scenes about 1450, and George Eliot's "Romola" lights up Savonarola's time in Florence. By all means get and study Kaulbach's picture "Era of the Reformation;" it gives all the Renaissance and Reformation heroes in groups,—will help greatly in three or four of our lessons. (Soule Photo. Co., Boston. No. 7484; price, 40 cts. and \$1.00.)

## QUESTIONS ON LESSON XVI.

“One man with God is a majority.”

1. *Restless Germany*: “was the milch cow of the Papacy, which at once despised and drained it”: what does that mean? What was training it to be an unquiet cow? The great Humanist of the day? Why did his “Praise of Folly” sell seven editions in a few months? His greater work?

2 and 3. *Luther*. Hang these Luther pictures in mind (see Cyclopædia, etc.): Luther the boy in the miner’s home. —Luther discovering the Bible.—Luther on his knees in Rome.—Luther nailing the theses to the church door.—Luther burning the Papal Bull.—Luther’s “Here I stand.” —Luther translating the Bible.—Luther denouncing the “Prophets.”—Luther and Melancthon writing the Augsburg Confession.—Luther preaching and writing hymns.—Luther as husband, father, friend, table-talker.

Peasant birth accounts for what in him? Do such self-contradictions as his show weakness or strength? Was Luther responsible for the Peasants’ War? Effect on him?

What, in theory, are “Indulgences”? What in practice?—Origin of the name, “Protestant”?—Could the Reformation have come before the printing-press, or without a printed Bible? Did German politics help, or hinder, the Reformation? What saved Luther from being a Wiclif or a Huss?

4. *Principles and Products*.—It was all a “protest” against what things in the religion of the day? and in behalf of what? The central principle of the Roman Catholic Church? Luther’s two central principles:—

(1.) The Authority of the Bible,—in place of what? The good,—the danger,—in this change? Who should interpret the Bible’s meaning—did Luther settle that question? Was he a “rationalist”?

(2.) Justification by faith,—in place of what? Does this mean justification by mere belief? Tell carefully what it does mean. The truth and good in this? the dangers? Where did Luther get the idea?

How did the new Church differ from the old in its services, etc.?

Did Luther understand what the Reformation involved? Would he have attempted it, if he had? Were he and Erasmus friends? Which played the nobler part? Could either have taken the other’s part? Would the Reformation have come without Erasmus? Without Luther? “Evolution” and “revolution,”—the difference? To which type of reform and reformer does the world owe most?



## **Third Period: Christianity Since the Reformation: A. D. 1517—A. D. 1789.**

### **LESSON XVI.**

#### **Luther and the Protestants.**

**Chronology:** From Luther's Theses, 1517, to the Peace at Augsburg, 1555. The broadest scholar, Erasmus, 1467-1536. The great artist, Angelo, 1475-1563. The chief scientist, Copernicus, 1473-1543. The most prominent ruler, Charles V., 1519-1555. The most dramatic incident in Luther's life: His heroic stand at the Diet of Worms, 1521.

#### **I. THE RESTLESS GERMAN PEOPLE.**

The Germans were never docile servants of the pope. Great rulers, such as Barbarossa and Frederick II., had stoutly resisted the aggressions of the church. The policy of the papacy was Italian. The papal legate, cultivated but crafty, looked with contempt upon the rougher and coarser Teutons. They, in turn, more manly in many ways and lovers of independence, despised these meddling foreigners. The German people often felt that Rome merely used them to fight her battles and pay her debts, but did not consider them good enough to be cardinals and popes. Great bishops held large estates of the richest lands in Germany, but used their power to enrich an Italian court rather than foster home interests. German princes saw their people stripped of money to decorate Rome. As the free cities, hives of industries, grew, this feeling deepened. The practical spirit and the craving

for liberty, developed in them, worked in the same direction. Certain men called *Mystics* had shown how the individual soul can find God and be religious without priest or sacrament. The words of Wiclif and the death of Huss had aroused a popular opposition to the church.

When the leaven of the "New Learning" began to spread in Germany, it produced new results because it worked in more earnest and serious natures. In the fifty years before the founding of the university of Wittenberg in 1502, which became the center of the Reformation, a dozen German princes had established similar institutions of learning. From them proceeded a great moral and intellectual awakening. The general life of the people was being rapidly raised by them. All this was gathered up and expressed at the beginning of the sixteenth century, in Erasmus, of kindred Dutch blood. He was the literary king of his day, even more than Voltaire or Goethe in their times. He wrote a most delightful Latin, then the common language of scholars. He was the great *Humanist* of his time: broad in culture, clear in thought, calm in temper, comprehensive in views. He waged war upon the abuses of the church, especially the vices and superstitions of the monks, by the weapons of his keen ridicule in his book, the "Praise of Folly," then read by everyone. He saw the need of a more spiritual, historical and rational Christianity; and to open the way for it, to provide a text book for instruction in it, he prepared and published (his great contribution to scholarship) a new *Greek Text*

of the New Testament (1516). The study of this led people back of sacraments and scholastics to the mind of Jesus and the simplicity of the gospel. Erasmus forged the weapons, a new text and a new use of the New Testament, by which the battles of the Reformation were fought. But he was too much of a student, too calm and conservative, to lead a radical reform movement.

## II. MARTIN LUTHER: LIFE AND CHARACTERISTICS.

In this great German, a creative personage of history who did a master stroke for human freedom, we have the heroic leader, who, using the help furnished by Erasmus, made the Reformation an historical dispensation. He was born a peasant, of Saxon parents, and remained a peasant to his death, though a university student and a university professor. In this fact lay much of his strength: his simple habits, his popular instincts, his deep piety and tremendous earnestness. He was a man of the people. From this, too, came some of his blemishes: his vehement passion, pouring forth in language always strong and often coarse; his superstitions, which led him into what he took for personal encounters with Satan; and his arrogant dogmatism, which made an enemy of Erasmus and led him to abuse Zwingli, one of the greatest mistakes of his life. His love was ardent, and his hatred intense. With all his seriousness, he enjoyed fun and frolic. Luther was a mighty believer in himself, and yet he was often childlike in his humility. He was full of blood, even to hot temper; and yet given to great tenderness and forgiveness. Shrewd almost to the verge of craftiness, but

he had convictions and he dared to act. Greater in courage than logic, mightier in feeling than thought, with decided faults and some grossness, he commands our love as an heroic, manly man, who won an immense victory for all mankind.

Wherever we see Luther he always interests us. His personal impression was masterful. He comes upon the stage before us as a young man struggling with a sense of sin which leads him into a monastery. As a young professor at Wittenberg, he is earnest, eloquent and popular. In Rome, on a visit in 1510, he is shocked at the vice and paganism of the papacy. He turns from sacrament to Scripture, and the Bible becomes the source of a new religious life. When the coarse Tetzels roam over Germany, selling Indulgences to get money to finish St. Peter's at Rome, Luther becomes angry, and nails up his "Ninety-Five Theses" on the church door in Wittenberg, Oct. 31, 1517. These *queries* were really an attack upon Indulgences. They raised a great commotion and suddenly made Luther famous, because they gave clear expression to the feelings of the German people on this subject. He is now the central figure of the growing movement for reform. He did not create it, there was more in it than he imagined, but he was now its great leader, preacher, controversialist, writer. His pamphlets laid bare the errors and superstitions of the church and aroused people to opposition. His hymns cultivated a more spiritual piety than church rites. His bold deeds were victories for liberty and progress.

## III. SOME DECISIVE EVENTS.

From the date of the *Theses* on for three years, Germany was in a state of great excitement. Luther appealed to the pope for a reform, but he refused to go to Rome. Then he demanded a general Council. Finally, he planted himself upon the Bible, and would accept no other authority. At times he seems a curious mixture of boldness and docility. The truth is that he was slowly growing into definite views in opposition to Rome, and he wanted to give the leaven time to work and the Germans time to become fully aroused before the decisive step should be taken. The accession of a new emperor, Charles V., with Spanish blood, in 1519, brought the crisis near. The next year, 1520, Luther issued two of his powerful pamphlets: "Address to the Nobility of the German Nation" and "The Babylonish Captivity of the Church."

Here was something that the pope could neither ignore nor tolerate. He issued his decree (called a *bull*) of excommunication against Luther. But this sturdy German proposed to show Christendom that there was one man who did not fear the pope, so he publicly burned the papal bull! And it took a brave man to do that. Then the pope called on the emperor to crush the defiant heretic; and Charles V. ordered Luther to meet him at the Diet of Worms. There before the emperor, on April 18, 1521, Luther made a bold assertion of his *Protestantism*, planting himself squarely on the authority of reason and Scripture, and using those memorable words: "*Here I stand, I cannot*

*otherwise; God help me!*" He made little impression upon Charles V., who issued an edict against him. But he had made friends among the German princes who formed the Diet; and on his way home he was carried off and secreted in the castle of Wartburg, to keep him out of the way of harm. There he lived quietly for nearly a year, engaged in translating the Bible into German, a task that was completed the next year by the aid of his great friend, Philip Melancthon, a weaker but a gentler man. The publication of *Luther's Bible* was a turning point in the Reformation, and it became the fountain head of German literature, just then coming into being.

But with Luther away, wilder spirits came to the front. In such times, some lose their heads and go to extremes. Two such men were Muenzer and Carlstadt, somewhat fanatical, who wanted to throw off all restraints. They and their followers (called in a general way Anabaptists), mostly among the lower classes, insisted on obeying the impulse of the moment as a revelation of the Holy Spirit; and they often fell into immoral conduct. In 1522, Luther returned to Wittenberg to resist these men and prevent disorder. This he did for a time, but in 1525 the *Peasants' War* broke out, brought about by religious fanaticism and social unrest. The cruelties on both sides pained Luther and injured the Protestant cause.

When Luther married in 1525, he broke the last chain that bound him to monkery and Romanism. He saw that family life for ministers would alone prevent the disgrace

of religion rising from an immoral priesthood. From this forward he toiled incessantly for the reform of the church. In 1530, the Augsburg Confession, written by Melancthon (under Luther's direction), was issued under the sanction of the Protestant princes of Germany, who the next year formed a league at Smalcald to defend the cause of the Reformation. Luther did much to maintain peace. The troubles of Charles V. with French kings, the popes, and the threatening Turkish armies, kept him from striking the blow for which his hand was always lifted. Meanwhile, the Reformation spread farther and rooted deeper. But after Luther's death, in 1546, war broke out and was waged with Spanish hate for years. Finally, a treaty at Augsburg in 1555 brought a settlement,—though an unsatisfactory one, for it made the religion of the rulers the religion of the people.

#### IV. PRINCIPLES AND PRODUCTS.

The Protestant movement was a moral revolt against the superstitions of the church and the vice and tyranny of the priests. It sought to break down the barriers of rite and sacrament built up between man and God. It aimed to lead the soul directly to the Father, by affirming the priesthood of all believers, and by making religion an inward experience rather than an outward observance. It asserted: Saving grace comes directly from God, and not through a sacrament. It was the method of reason in religion, giving freedom to thought and conscience. Some made a poor use of reason.

Others misunderstood or denied this rational method. Luther became less rational and progressive after the Peasants' War. Nevertheless, Protestantism was the beginning of a rational movement in religion which meant liberty for the soul, freedom in truth-seeking, and salvation interpreted as Inner Life. In these ways it was a return toward the spirit and method of Jesus.

Two things were central with Luther: (1) His use of Scripture; (2) his teaching of "justification by faith." Protestants did not discover the Bible, but they made a new use of it,—more practical and life-giving. Its use did not create the Reformation but largely shaped its character, in some respects unfavorably. *Bible-Reading* was an exercise infinitely more educational, more fruitful of rational thought and pure feeling, than Church rites,—masses and penances. Appeal to it as an infallible authority was a piece of strategy in opposition to the pretensions of Rome. And Scripture was surely a safer guide than the popes of that period. It was a gain for thoughtfulness and spirituality to locate authority in the words of Jesus and Paul rather than in popes like Alexander VI. and Leo X. This use of the Bible was something new in Christendom, and, while natural and fruitful at the time, this appeal to it as the final and infallible "word of God" has done great mischief among Protestants.

To Luther, *justification by faith* (not dogma or mere theological opinion) meant an experience of the heart in which the believer throws himself upon the grace and mercy of God as revealed in Christ. When the soul



yields to the Spirit of God, seeks forgiveness in the name of Jesus, rests upon the merits of the cross, and depends wholly upon the Father's love rather than deeds of the flesh,—this is justification by faith. This doctrine, taken by Luther from Paul through Augustine, may be so stated as to make belief everything and character nothing. Luther, though a great preacher of righteousness, used language to this effect. And yet, a great spiritual fact is here dimly stated: We are saved by our trusts, convictions, aspirations. In our supreme moments we throw ourselves upon the "Power not ourselves that makes for righteousness." What we see is that this doctrine did liberate souls from the bondage of the Romish sacramental system. Men felt that their salvation was freely of God rather than through the hands of priests. This was the needful deliverance. When crudely stated, this doctrine probably helped to make some of the immorality which attended the opening scenes of the Reformation; it is not today a safe or scientific statement of religious truth; but it then served a purpose.

The *organic results* of Lutheranism (best described in the Augsburg Confession) were:  
1. A popular church service with the *mass* left out, and more preaching and congregational singing added. 2. Indulgences, the confessional, worship of relics, celibacy of the clergy, the monastic ideal and practice were swept away. 3. In the communion service both bread and wine are shared equally by all. A remnant of the Catholic dogma of the "Real Presence" was kept in the asser-

tion of *consubstantiation*, a mystical idea, hard to explain, over which Luther quarrelled with Zwingli. 4. The settlement of ministers was not left to the local congregation but kept in the hands of the state, an unfortunate arrangement. 5. The wide use of the Bible in the language of the common people, in which all religious services were conducted, helped to make religion educational rather than sacramental, spiritual rather than superstitious, personal rather than priestly. 6. As a result, the schoolmaster was sent abroad in the land, and Germany began to be a leader in education.

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See Allen, "Christian History," vol. III., chap. I., for suggestive remarks upon this period; Seebohm, "Protestant Revolution," pp. 94-136, narrates the essential facts clearly, Fisher, "The Reformation," chaps. IV., V., more fully, and Schaff, "History of the Christian church," vol. VI., chaps. II.-V., at length; Creighton, "German Reformation," is an admirable manual; Beard, "The Reformation," chaps. III.-V., is a valuable philosophical discussion; Koestlin, "Life of Luther," is the standard work; Froude, "Life of Erasmus," is interesting and valuable.

Get pictures of Erasmus, Luther and Melancthon: the faces show the men and the difference between them. For Luther and the Reformation in a story form, read the "Chronicles of the Schœnberg-Cotta Family."



## QUESTIONS ON LESSON XVII.

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1. *Zwingli*.—How old were Luther and Zwingli when Columbus discovered America? Luther's city? Zwingli's? Luther had a protecting Prince behind him; who stood behind Zwingli and decided the reforms in Switzerland? How came the little land so early free? (Wm. Tell's story.)

Did Zwingli follow Luther, or precede him? What does that fact show about the general ripeness for reform? Were leaders *necessary* to the Reformation? In what points did the German leader and the Swiss agree? In what differ? Which one was to blame for the final split? Which was the wiser, broader man? Then why say "Luther's Reformation," and not "Zwingli's"?

2. and 3. *Calvin*.—Again hang pictures in the mind:—

(1.) *The thin-faced man*: his story; his organizing book; his disciples and opponents; his brave days and busy nights. The darkest blot upon his fame? It was the second generation of Reform,—why was he the man for the time?

(2.) *Geneva*, the "frontier fortress of the Reformation."

(3.) *Presbyterianism*, his form of church government: is it priestly? congregational? What sect by it is strong to-day?

(4) *Calvinism*: What beliefs did Calvin share with others? His great and central emphasis? The famous "Five Points of Calvinism"? Was Calvinism a good change from Roman Catholicism as it then was? What do you think of Calvin's idea of God? of man? of the Bible? of Sunday? Did the Bible, or the cruel age, or both, give him his cruel thought of sovereign "justice"? What is the secret,—how could such a system make heroes instead of paralytics? In what five peoples has Calvinism been the inspiration of their hero age? What sects to-day are Calvinist? Do they really believe as Calvin did? Do we owe gratitude to Calvin?

4. *Early Liberals*.—Tell the story of the three minor reformers named. Why were they necessarily *minor* then? Who persecuted all the three? Was Calvin blamed in his own day for having had Servetus burned to death? Which of the three left a still living church? Are these three *our* spiritual ancestors any more than Luther and Calvin? Find out about the *Anabaptists*,—in some respects the worst, in some the most modern-minded, party of the Reformation,—and more pitiful than any in their fate.

## Third Period: Christianity since the Reformation: A. D. 1517—A. D. 1789.

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### LESSON XVII.

#### Calvin and the Reformers.

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**Chronology:** From Zwingli's arrival in Zurich, 1519, to the Edict of Nantes, 1598. The great rulers: in France, Francis I.; in Spain, Philip II.; in England, Henry VIII. and Elizabeth; in the Netherlands, William of Orange. Notable events: The Jesuit Order, 1540; the burning of Servetus, 1553; the massacre of St. Bartholomew, 1572; the Spanish Armada, 1588. The two Protestant leaders, Ulrich Zwingli, 1484—1531; John Calvin, 1509—1564.

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#### I. ZWINGLI AND THE REFORM IN SWITZERLAND.

For centuries the Swiss have been great lovers of liberty. The character of their country made it difficult to conquer them. Their skill in arms led surrounding nations to respect them and seek their aid. They had gained their independence by the close of the Middle Ages. In fighting for the popes in Italy, they had become aware of the base worldliness of the church. Many learned men had found shelter in their cities. Their advance in education, independence and industrial pursuits made a movement for freedom in religion inevitable. This started quite independently of the German Protestants, and was led by Zwingli, born only a few weeks after Luther. Zwingli was a man of higher birth and better education than Luther, clearer in thought and broader in sympathy; not so colossal a per-

sonality; not a worker in so large a field; less superstitious but fully as brave. This Swiss reformer, without any help from his Saxon brother, led a quieter but more radical and rational movement. He has not occupied so prominent a place in history as he deserves. The political platform on which he worked was less conspicuous; he was not so aggressive an antagonist as Luther. The obligations of the popes to Swiss soldiers made Rome lenient to Zwingli, who, strange to say, for many years, received a pension from the papacy.

In the year 1516 (just as Erasmus, living close by, printed his new Greek Text of the New Testament), Zwingli planted himself on more thorough and consistent Scriptural grounds than Luther had taken. His preaching—he was a priest but not a monk—was a plea for a return to the religion of the Bible. During the next year, 1517, before Luther's *Theses*, he stoutly attacked the corruptions of the papacy and the gross abuses in the sale of indulgences. His growing fame led to his call, two years later, to the Cathedral Church in Zurich, where, for a dozen years, he was the central figure in the Swiss Reformation.

As events unfolded, Zwingli found himself carried farther away from the Catholic church by the teaching of Scripture, the dictates of reason and the demand of patriotism. We must remember that national as well as religious sentiments worked mightily among the reformers. He held public disputations in Zurich, in which he asserted: (1) That the authority of the gospel is

higher than that of the church. (2) That the sacramental system of Rome (mass, confessional, indulgence), the papal hierarchy, the worship of saints, relics and images, are contrary to reason and Scripture. (3) That salvation is by faith in Christ alone. He considered *faith* to be a "life-giving influence," and less a "justifying agency," as taught by Luther. He even went so far as to hold that Christ redeemed the whole race. Such men as Socrates and Plato are in heaven; this the early church fathers also asserted. He married in 1524 (a year before Luther), and the next year he issued his chief work, "True and False Religion," strongly arguing the positions taken in his disputations, which the rulers of Zurich approved and compelled others to adopt. In 1529, came his controversy with Luther at Marburg, where he urged his view that the "Supper" is purely symbolic. Luther left him in anger, and the German Lutherans and the Swiss Reformers, and their followers, have ever since stood apart. War broke out between the Protestant and Catholic cantons, and Zwingli was killed in battle in 1531.

## II. THE WORK OF JOHN CALVIN.

Zwingli opened the door of reform in Switzerland for a few of his countrymen, Calvin kept it wide open with power for all Europe. Calvin was born of good family in northern France, educated for the law in Paris, first made a *humanist* by the "new learning," and then converted from Catholicism to evangelical Christianity by study of the Bible. His change of religion exiled

him from France, and he poured his energies into the writing of his chief work, "Institutes of the Christian Religion," first issued in 1536, when he was a little over twenty-six years old. A masterpiece of logical and eloquent exposition—a systematic theology, with very little religion and less of the Christianity of Jesus in it. But the most powerful book of the century, it became the handbook of Protestantism. More logical than Luther, more intense than Zwingli; but not as bad as the later Calvinists, having little of the lurid light and awful wrath of Edwards.

Being in Geneva a little later, he was persuaded to stop and assist in the reform of the city. Two years after he was driven out, but was brought back in 1541, and for twenty-three years he ruled as a stern dictator. The work of government was in the hands of others, but his spirit was supreme. Here was now the center of the Reformation. Calvin attempted to control the entire life of the people, and conform them to his interpretation of the Bible, in which he exaggerated its harsher Jewish elements. Gigantic efforts were made to repress vice, to uproot every vestige of Romanism, to conform beliefs to one standard. A severe code of morals was harshly enforced. Amusements were abolished; slight sins were punished with death; even profanity and the disobedience of children. Torture and the stake were used to crush heresy, and freely, too. The burning of Servetus is a very dark blot upon Calvin's fame. All were obliged to keep the Sabbath and attend church. The



diet, clothes, and daily habits of the people in shop and home were minutely regulated. It was a theocracy, with Calvin ruling as the representative of God.

The opposition to all this was stubborn and prolonged. Calvin walked no easy path. From every quarter constantly rose up bitter enemies. Mobs assailed him, children hooted him, assassins laid in wait for him. But he toiled on, neither sparing himself nor anyone else—calm, stern, masterful. He labored all day over affairs of church and state, planning, teaching, preaching. Men from all over the Christian world sat at his feet, receiving instruction and inspiration, to go back to their homes, like John Knox to Scotland, and spread the Reformation. Having time, often, to eat only one meal during the day, he spent a large part of the night in studying and writing. The work he did was immense; the influence he exerted was tremendous; the courage he showed was great. He could rush among his enemies and present his defenceless breast to their lances! A harsh and gloomy man, with none of the warm blood of Luther, and none of the gentleness of Zwingli; but he was a powerful thinker who must be respected. We may reject his theology and condemn his spirit, but in that transition time a strong man was needed, and he gathered and disciplined the men who saved Protestantism and kept Europe free.

The reformers had renounced hierarchy and sacraments, and their movement had become Scriptural, before Calvin took the lead. He gave their theology a precise and

powerful exposition. His originality lay in the manner rather than the matter of his teaching. He agreed substantially with Athanasius respecting Jesus's nature, with Augustine respecting man's depravity, with Anselm respecting Christ's atonement, with Luther respecting the authority of the Bible. But he made the operation of providence on this platform revolve about the idea of the absolute sovereignty of God. This he worked out in what are called the "Five Points of Calvinism": Man's total depravity, absolute foreordination, irresistible grace, particular election, and the perseverance of the saints. In other words, man is by nature hopelessly lost and unable to help himself; but God in his inscrutable wisdom, without regard to what men are or do, elects some to heaven and others (a vast majority) to hell, and what he ordains is carried out with irresistible power. This looks like a merciless fatalism, paralysing all human effort. But as each man considers himself *elected*, feels that God is behind him, using and guarding him for his own glory, there is wrapped up in this dogma, not only great awe and seriousness, but also infinite confidence, boundless heroism, and intense activity. Calvinists have been men of iron nerve and tireless enterprise—great fighters and missionaries.

Calvin formulated a new order of church government, set forth by him as apostolic, but really only similar to what existed in the second century. He brought the laity into prominence, and gave the local congregation certain rights. But each church is restrained from following its own will fully by the

*eldership* set up in it, and by the *presbytery* to which it is subordinated. On this account it is called the "Presbyterian System." It is an aristocracy with some popular elements. Each congregation has some freedom, but its minister and lay elders (forming the *session*) really manage the affairs of the church. Delegates from the sessions of neighboring churches form a Presbytery, which legislates for these churches. Presbyteries are grouped into Synods, and these into a General Assembly, which gives final decisions. But all are tied fast to a dogmatic confession of faith, and the system does not allow a popular feeling to express itself. It is an organization of great inherent strength and dignity of procedure, admirably calculated to perpetuate a creed, but with no open door for the Holy Spirit of the living present.

### III. THE GLORY AND THE SHAME OF CALVINISM.

This system of theology makes God too arbitrary and man too helpless. It uses too much fear and too little love. It places dogma too high and morality too low. It is a misunderstanding of Paul and a misrepresentation of Jesus. Its idea of God is too wrathful, its view of man too melancholy, its appeal to hell too frequent, its use of the Bible too doctrinal; its Sabbath too strict, its spirit too gloomy. It neglects the Sermon on the Mount and puts too much emphasis on the cruder teachings of the Hebrew Scriptures. Its defect is its hard, stern, loveless interpretation of life and providence. Its merits are the vigor and clearness of its teaching; the strength and seriousness of life

produced by it. It is not the Christianity of the New Testament. It is far different from the religion of the Middle Ages. And yet it is the Christian faith, grown gloomy and stern, nerved for solemn duties and dressed in a great leathern apron to do some mighty work!

And these are the countries where it laid the foundations of modern civilization: In the northern half of France, where it raised up the *Huguenots* to fight for nearly forty years, suffering meanwhile the Massacre of St. Bartholomew and winning at last the Edict of Nantes, and later to be driven out and to enrich many lands by their intelligence and piety. In the Netherlands, where it raised up those *Reformers* who, under William of Orange (one of the earliest and greatest advocates of religious freedom), Maurice and Barneveldt, won the victories of reason and conscience against the Spaniards under Philip and Alva. All the world owes a great debt to those stout Calvinists of the Low Countries. And what awful slaughter and cruelty on both sides for over a generation, 1566-1609! And in Scotland, where it raised up the stern *Presbyterians*, who, under Knox, made sad havoc of much that ought to have been spared; but they did destroy an immense amount of Mediæval rubbish and superstition. Puritan and Pilgrim were disciplined in the same school. One great thing they all did: they planted schools everywhere. The Calvinists, setting their faces against mirth and art, as decoys of Satan, exhibited a gloomy but solemn piety, feeling themselves in touch with the

Living God and on great business for him. They were men and women of strict, if somewhat loveless, morality, with instincts for democracy.

#### IV. SOME EARLY LIBERALS.

For a moment, let us look beyond these main currents, to a few stray apostles of a more rational Christianity, pleading for perfect liberty and universal toleration. Science was only just budding in a few men like Copernicus, Bruno, and others, but as yet its influence had made no impression on religion. It was still the common theory that the church and state are one, and that the civil power has the right to regulate belief. Luther by his heroism and Calvin by his logic had made a large clearing where something better than the old religious home could be built. Superstitions had been cut down, evil practices abolished, and bonds broken. A great beginning had been made; a chance for a new Christianity to grow opened. But in Luther's protests and Calvin's reforms the absolutely free and rational soul was not allowed a place. This must come later on; men must be prepared for it.

A few men lifted their voices in plea for these larger things. Chief among those at work on this line about the middle of the sixteenth century were these three: (1) Michael Servetus, 1509—1553, a Spaniard, whose keen but somewhat unsteady intellect combated the ideas of the trinity and the atonement as held in his day. He spoke for larger liberty and a more rational use of the Bible. His martyrdom at Geneva, under the

influence of Calvin (whose action was neither before nor behind the spirit of the age), is one of the sad stories of Protestant history. (2) Faustus Socinus (his uncle Lælius was also prominent), 1539—1594, an Italian, whose chief work was done in Poland, where he established a definite Unitarian faith, placing reason above Scripture and allowing no persecution for opinion's sake. After about a century this movement was crushed by the use of the most barbarous means. (3) Francis David, 1510—1579, a Hungarian, who slowly liberated himself from the Catholic sacraments and the Lutheran dogmas and spread a simple, rational Unitarian faith among thousands in Transylvania, where the movement which he started, in spite of innumerable hardships and persecutions, is still vigorous. It was a disciple of his, John Sigismund, who gave his people a charter of religious freedom (1568), which ranks high among the documents of its class, being one of the first and greatest. The rich harvest of civil and religious liberty which we enjoy today was made possible by the seed which these and other men sowed in those distant years.

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See Allen, "Christian History, vol. III. chap. III., for a brief but suggestive discussion of Calvinism; Seeböhm, "Protestant Revolution," pp. 192—199, traces these events in outline, while Fisher, "The Reformation," chaps. v. and vii., tells the story in detail; Beard, "The Reformation," chap. vii., combines narration of events and discussion of doctrines; Schaff, "History of the Christian Church," vol. vii., chaps. II. and III. (Zwingli), and chaps. viii.—xiv. (Calvin and Calvinism), treats these subjects at length; Renan, "Studies in Religious History," pp. 285—297, and Froude, "Short Studies," vol. II. chap. I., present valuable estimates of Calvin and Calvinism from independent but different standpoints; Lyon, "A Study of the Sects," pp. 98—109, briefly but clearly describes the Presbyterian creed and polity; Allen, "Unitarianism since the Reformation," chaps. II.—v., tells the story of the early liberals.



## QUESTIONS ON LESSON XVIII.

1. *The Catholic Situation.*—What compelled the Second Reformation,—that within the Catholic Church? How did reformed Catholicism differ from the unreformed? Had the Catholic Reformation come first, would there have been a Protestant Reformation? Is it better, anyway, that the split did come?

But the *cost* of an idea! The hundred years of religious wars,—in what four countries? Take the map and draw the line between the Catholic and Protestant lands as finally divided.

2. *Loyola, the Jesuits, and the Inquisition.*

The Soldier's Dream:—Tell Loyola's story. (Cyclopædia.)

The Soldier's Plan:—(1) Obedience: what is a "perfect self-surrender" in the Jesuit's sense? (2) Education: "the greatest guild of preachers known to history,"—explain that. (3) Splendid missions and martyrs,—where?

The Soldier's Result:—What did the Jesuits accomplish for Catholicism? Why are they so feared, and so often expelled? What does "Jesuitical" mean? If all Catholics were Jesuits, would the "A. P. A." be foolish or wrong?

The Judge's Plan.—Who—willing like Loyola to be, or to make, a martyr—re-organized and universalized the Inquisition? For what special purpose? With what result? The Inquisitor and the modern Turk—what difference? The Inquisitor and the modern surgeon—what difference? Does the modern Catholic justify those old Inquisition horrors?

3. *The Council of Trent.*—Who controlled it? Did it reform the Catholic Church? Its position about the Bible? the Sacraments? the Pope? The good of a clear, definite, authoritative creed? Would you like one?

What, then, do the three dates, 1540, 1542, 1545, stand for in Catholic history? Did Luther live to see all three events?

4. *The Catholic Outlook To-day.*—Rome is *the* Church to how many? In what sense is it "divine"? Did the Protestant Reformation harm it, or help it? Is it stronger, or weaker, to-day than in Luther's day? Is it a Church for thinkers? a Church of progress? If you are glad that it still lives, why? If you could not become a Roman Catholic, why not? What is "Americanized Catholicism"? What is Rome's problem to-day?



## Third Period: Christianity since the Reformation: A. D. 1517—A. D. 1789.

### LESSON XVIII.

#### The Counter Reform in the Catholic Church.

Chronology: From the organization of the Jesuits, 1540, to the Peace of Westphalia, 1648. The four great names in science and literature: Montaigne, 1533-1592; Bacon, 1561-1626; Galileo, 1564-1642; Shakespeare, 1564-1616. The chief event in the Catholic Church, the Council of Trent, 1545-1563. The three great Catholic leaders: Caraffa (Pope Paul IV.), 1476-1559; Loyola, 1491-1556; Richelieu, 1585-1642.

#### I. THE CATHOLIC SITUATION.

The Catholic does not deny the corruption of the church at the time of the Reformation. He admits that the Sale of Indulgences was abused and made a scandal by such men as Tetzel; that many monasteries were nests of frightful vices, and that popes were worldly and immoral. But he holds that these evils were due to the general wickedness of mankind. They were in no sense produced by the Catholic faith, but had arisen in spite of its teachings. And the Catholic points to the victory of the church over these great evils as proof of its divine character, saying: Only an institution called of God could have resisted the Protestant attack and freed itself from such corruption. It is true that many Catholics in those days opposed these evils as stoutly as the Reformers, though in another way.

What we see from about 1540 onward, for

a little over a hundred years, is a succession of terrible civil and religious wars, in which the ambition for Catholic supremacy played a prominent part; Rome was fighting for her very life. In France were the repeated outbreaks against the Huguenots; in the Netherlands the long struggle against the Dutch lovers of freedom; in Germany the war against the Smalcaldic League after Luther's death, and later the desolating Thirty Years' War, 1618-1648,—which brought to the front a great warrior on each side, Gustavus and Wallenstein,—to be closed at last by the Treaty of Westphalia, which marked a decisive turning point in the history of modern Europe and which has served as a basis of international law; and in England the civil strife which cost Charles his head. In all these, more than a religious faith was involved, but Rome used all her resources of policy, fear and authority to crush the reformers; yet the general result of these wars was a decided loss to the papacy. The line then drawn through Europe between Catholic and Protestant remains to this day. North of it, on the foundations of freedom laid in blood by Protestants, humanity has made immense progress; south of it, the advance has been slower.

Another fact of great importance we must note. In the south, especially in Spain and Italy, the popes found themselves confronted by a reforming movement, earnest and popular, but different from that in the north. This southern movement was of long standing; in one form and another it reached back for many generations. It was a demand

for reform in the spirit of Erasmus rather than an attack after the manner of Luther. It wanted the papacy purified rather than abolished; the sacramental system freed from abuses rather than set aside; the priesthood disciplined rather than destroyed. Here were loyal friends loudly insisting that an end be put to abuses and shameful scandals.

All through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries these demands for reform had been unheeded. When the Protestant attack was made and the split came, Rome saw that something must be done to win back the north by force of arms, if possible, and to destroy this more friendly opposition in the south. The popes largely failed in the former, but succeeded in the latter. They were forced to action by the instinct of self-preservation. Under Protestant attacks, the Catholics themselves felt a deeper shame; they were roughly shaken out of their indolence and indifference. It was seen that abuses must be cut off, discipline must be tightened, corrupt practices must be abolished. There tremendous efforts, put forth in its struggle for life, developed a new power and spirit. A great change passed over the Catholic Church; it was reformed from within. The supremacy of the papacy was maintained, but it became obedient to a new moral spirit. Ever since, the popes have been men of clean lives. In many respects the Catholics did more for a new moral life, in the last half of the sixteenth century, than the Protestants. The sacraments were retained, but a nobler moral sentiment guides

their administration. Indulgences are nowhere sold as by Tetzel; the confessional is nowhere abused as in those days. Priests and monks survive, but they live more decent lives, more obedient to noble ministries. The reformers did a good deal more than establish Protestantism; they helped on a reform of the Catholic Church itself, as great in its way as their own work. That church, the same in theory as before, is vastly different in spirit and practice.

## II. LOYOLA AND THE JESUITS.

The one man who did far more than anyone else to save the Catholic Church in this crisis was Ignatius Loyola, a Spanish nobleman by birth, well educated and early engaged in military life. About the time that Luther was standing before the Diet of Worms, his legs were shattered by a cannon ball. His career as a soldier was ended; for months he was confined to his bed by rack-ing pains. Remorse over his sins filled his heart; the lives of the saints engaged his imagination; the disorders and dangers of the church distressed him; visions of the Virgin Mary fired his enthusiasm. All the baffled energy and enthusiasm of his intense nature made a new channel, and came to expression in a great resolve to dedicate himself absolutely to the service of the church. He saw these things clearly: (1) The need of discipline. (2) Thought must be subjected to dogma. (3) Education is all powerful to reach both ends. For this work a new religious order was needed.

After some years of special preparation,

Loyola, in connection with other kindred spirits, founded the "Society of Jesus," known as the *Jesuits*, which received the papal sanction in 1540. Its three vows are poverty, chastity and obedience, like those of the older orders; but it differs from them in two respects: in its tremendous emphasis upon *obedience*, and in its absolute devotion to the papacy. The individuality of the Jesuit is effaced by a perfect self-surrender. By a long course of spiritual exercises (contrition, introspection, casuistry) the candidate is made over into a new creature, without any personal will or ambition, to act as the organ of the papal policy; never to question or hesitate, but to go anywhere and to suffer anything when commanded. An absolutely obedient army, built up, not by physical austerities, but by mental discipline.

Loyola wisely planted himself on the supremacy of the intellect. He saw that the new battles must be won by education; he correctly measured the moulding power of the educational method. He inspired his followers to lay hold of young minds and reshape them for use in the church. The Jesuits have been the greatest guild of teachers ever known to history. In them the papacy has had a devotion, wise, artful and absolute, such as no other institution has ever had. Though they hardened and narrowed Catholicism, they saved the church by their severe morality, their educational zeal and their missionary enthusiasm. While northern Europe was in arms against the pope, and the south loud in opposition, the daring wisdom of Loyola planned great

foreign missions to India, America, and China (the first undertaken for five centuries); and the story of his companion, Francis Xavier, in those eastern lands, in one of the great romances of history. As missionaries, the Jesuits have been as remarkable as in their work of education. In both lines their merits and defects have been the same: an enthusiasm that removes mountains and wins hearts—their merit; but a method that leaves the disciples made, in servitude; the thought developed, in bondage—their defect. At Loyola's death, his followers were masters of a hundred schools, but there was no free education anywhere. Thought was under vassalage to priestly authority. The instruction made zealous servants but not growing men.

The fortunes of the Jesuits have been varied in many ways. More or less under suspicion in the Catholic Church, they have shaped its policies and controlled its destinies. They saved the papacy; and yet they dried up the life of the church by dogmatism and despotism. They have maintained a severe personal morality; and yet their moral theories have made *Jesuitical* a word of reproach, for it is believed that in their zeal for the church they feel that the end justifies the means,—a hateful but not uncommon policy. As politicians (they have been great workers in secret behind the scenes to shape the policies of states), they have been so crafty and cunning that they have been expelled from many countries, notably Germany, France and Mexico. Their noblest spirit was displayed in the love and heroism

of their work as missionaries in America, one of the most stirring chapters in the world's history. Whatever their mistakes (some have said *crimes* against humanity), the Jesuits, in their early days, did bring into the Catholic Church a deeper moral earnestness and a larger use of education.

Of kindred purpose was Caraffa, a man of immense ability and energy, who in 1542 reorganized the Inquisition, and made it a more terrible power than ever before against opponents of the papacy, especially in Spain and Italy. He insisted on a moral reformation and he did much to abolish abuses; but he allowed no disobedience and he delighted in the most horrible punishments for heretics. As harsh as Calvin, he labored in much the same spirit on the Catholic side.

### III. THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

For over a century, men had asked for a General Council to remedy the manifest evils of Christendom. The early Protestants repeated the plea. Before the time of Luther's death, there was a moment when reconciliation seemed possible. Several efforts in this line were made. But when the long expected Council met at Trent in 1545, the division had become permanent. Things had gone too far to allow Protestants to attend, though they were asked. At the first session less than fifty delegates were present. The demand for a decisive moral reform was general. Some wished a radical change made in the faith and policy of the church. But the Jesuits got possession of the Council, and, after some turbu-

lence, their plans were successful. Twenty-five sessions were held, the last in 1563, at which about two hundred and fifty delegates attended. The decrees and canons of this Council, issued from time to time and making a treatise about as long as a dozen of these lessons, constitute the authoritative statement of the faith and organization of the Roman Catholic Church.

This Council did little more than state what had come to be the common belief and practice of the church. But it was of great advantage to have such a clear and official statement, instead of being obliged to consult scores of papal decrees and scholastic discussions to find out what Catholicism is. The efforts of this Council strengthened the position and nerved the arm of Rome in various ways. It stopped debate and silenced opposition on the inside; it established a clear line of defence; it laid down the law with authority and showed all just what the Catholic Church is; it knit together and compacted Catholics into a firmer body.

The work of the Council falls chiefly under these heads: (1) It first defined the Catholic doctrine respecting the Scriptures, making the *Vulgate* the standard text, and asserting, against the Protestants, that the Bible must be interpreted by the church and not by the private reason. (2) It held that salvation comes through the sacraments, the description of which constitutes almost the entire document that it issued, and not by the justification of faith as Luther taught. (3) The absolute supremacy of the papacy was asserted in the most extreme terms.



(4) At every session earnest work was done for the moral reformation of the church,—bishops were directed to be more thorough in their discipline, and priests commanded to be more earnest and energetic. (5) At the end of every decree an *anathema* was hurled at all who disobeyed the church, neglected its rites or rejected its creed.

#### IV. THE CATHOLIC OUTLOOK TODAY.

At present, the Catholic Church ministers to two hundred million souls,—about one-seventh of the human race. With all its errors, it feeds them with the bread of life. When we consider who its people are, we see that its discipline on the whole is none too strict. There is still work in the world for this church; in many ways it is a divine institution, but only in the sense that all workers for righteousness, Moslem and Buddhist, are also called of God. Rome is divine because the friend of public order, the advocate of pure homes, the shelter for widows and orphans, the apostle of love ministering to the distressed, a teacher leading millions in worship of God. Its symbols may have no meaning to us, its superstition may repel us, its claim to infallibility and its arrogant despotism may deserve our earnest and untiring opposition, but we must not forget its present vast services to civilization.

The Catholic Church has great power of resistance and large capacity of adaptation. Its misfortune lies in the fact that in southern Europe, where the bulk of its population lies, its policies do not command the patriotism of the masses; its dogmas are rejected by a

majority of the thinkers of its own lands. The rest of its strength is in Spanish America, among an unprogressive people. Its ten million members in the United States are growing into an *Americanized Catholicism*, bound to leaven and liberalize the whole body. As lovers of liberty, we may be glad that they are here to be educated in freedom, that they in turn may humanize the Catholic Church everywhere. The problem before the papacy is this: To live in this modern world the church must accept Science and Democracy. But how can they be accepted, and Rome keep its sceptre and the sacraments be maintained?

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See Allen, "Christian History," vol. III. chap. II., for an outline discussion of the Catholic reaction; Fisher, "The Reformation," chap. XI., gives a full, and Seebohm, "Protestant Revolution," pp. 199-208, a brief narration of the facts; Ranke, "History of the Popes," vol. I., book II., is a standard treatment of great value; Symonds, "Renaissance in Italy: Catholic Reaction," vol. I. chaps. II.-IV., is invaluable for students of this period; Alzog, "Church History," vol. III, pp. 340-360 (Council of Trent), and pp. 373-386 (Jesuits), treats these subjects from the Catholic point of view; Parkman, "Jesuits in North America," chaps. VIII.-XI., is intensely interesting; Ward, "The Counter Reformation," is a useful manual. Starbuck, "Jesuits," *New World*, Dec, 1894, discusses the present position of this society.



## QUESTIONS ON LESSON XIX.

1. *The Dim Background.*—How many “religions” has England known? Why did the island need two conversions to Christianity? St. Patrick, Augustine, King Alfred, Wiclif,—tell some story of each. Who brought the “New Learning” into England? What kind of a reformation did these three friends hope for?

2. *Separation from Rome under Henry VIII.*—How did the Reformation in England differ from that in Germany? Did England have a Luther or a Calvin? Who was the leader? Why had the pope once named him “Defender of the Faith”? Then why, later, his break with Rome?

Henry’s Reforming Parliament, 1529–1536: Its first step in reform? What was the Declaration of Independence from Rome? Its next three steps? Was the confiscation of the monasteries wrong? How did the king clinch these reforms? Would you call him a “reformer”? What other cases of ignoble beginnings with great historic outcomes?

3. *The Protestant Episcopal Church.*—What one word describes of the English Reformation? This shown—

(1.) In the *organization* of the National Church: Who became its head? Why called Episcopal? What does “Apostolic Succession” mean, and why do Episcopalians make so much of this point?

(2.) In its *ritual*: From what was the Prayer Book made? Why called “Common Prayer”? Do our Episcopalians here use the same book? Why is the book so loved? Had *we* better have a Prayer Book?—The difference between a priest and a minister? between church and chapel, in England? between communion and mass? What of Romish ritual was abandoned altogether?

(3.) In its *creed*: What do the “Thirty-nine Articles” contain? How do they differ from Luther and Calvin?

To sum up: 1534, 1536, 1548, 1563 date what events in the English Reformation? The three sovereigns who helped it? The one who opposed it,—burning whom? What noble change to be credited to Elizabeth? What advantage in a church based on compromise? What weakness? “Broad”, “Low”, “High” Church—the terms mean what?

4. *A National Church.*—What other National Protestant churches are there? The good—the danger—of an Established Church? What becomes of its progressive thinkers? In England is any persecution left? How do “the Church” and “the Dissenters” there compare in numbers, worth, social position? Is there any tendency towards disestablishment? Is our Constitution wise in making a National Church impossible here? Would it be consistent with the First Amendment to “put God and Christianity in the Constitution,” as some wish?

## Third Period: Christianity since the Reformation; A. D. 1517—A. D. 1789.

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### LESSON XIX.

#### The National Church of England.

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Chronology: The Sixteenth Century. Important events: Tyndale's Bible, 1525; the Act of Supremacy, 1534; the destruction of the monasteries, 1535-1540; the Prayer Book, 1543; the Thirty-nine Articles, 1563. The four chief leaders in religion: William Tyndale, Thomas Cromwell, Thomas Cranmer, Matthew Parker. Two pathetic martyrdoms: Thomas More, Hugh Latimer.

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#### I. THE DIM BACKGROUND.

The Roman invasion of Britain, just before the rise of Christianity, reveals to us the priests of the land, the Druids, whose religion was a somber nature-worship. At what time or by whom the gospel was first preached in the island we cannot tell. In the fourth century, there were many flourishing churches. Christianity was strong enough to produce a great missionary, St. Patrick, who evangelized the people of Ireland. Soon after this the Romans left, and the invading Angles and Saxons, pagans from the continent, stamped out the Christian faith and destroyed its churches. Then, about 600, the missionary Augustine came from Pope Gregory I.; and he made a convert of Ethelbert, the king of Kent; and soon, from Canterbury, Christianity began to spread through the land. English Christianity now became an established institution, though many times harassed by the invading Danes. Two

great names adorn its annals: King Alfred, 849-901, and Bishop Dunstan, 924-988.

The Norman Conquest, 1066, was followed by a great activity in church building and a rapid increase in monasteries. These English churches were Catholic like the rest; and yet the English people were constantly resisting the aggressions of Rome and asserting their independence. William Rufus in the eleventh century struggled against Anselm, the pope's advocate, then archbishop of Canterbury; Henry II. and Thomas Becket engaged in a fierce contest a hundred years later; in the next century, the Barons won the victory over King John, who was the tool of Rome; and in the fourteenth century we have seen the bold work of reform under Wiclif. The civil strife in the fifteenth century made religious progress slow, but the *Lollards* were doing quiet work in secret places. Towards the close of the century, the "New Learning" made itself felt in England; and with it came a demand for a reform of the church. But this demand was at first made by loyal Catholics, who wanted the old church purified, not destroyed. They were men like More and Colet (fellow workmen with Erasmus, who lived much in England): the former a great statesman, who wrote *Utopia*; the latter a great scholar, who founded many schools.

## II. THE SEPARATION FROM ROME UNDER HENRY VIII.

Christianity in England assumed a more *national* character than anywhere else. In Germany, the new movement began in reli-

gion and spread to politics; in England, it began in politics and spread to religion. The opening incident was ignoble enough; but it afforded an opportunity for great national forces to operate. The young king wanted to get rid of his wife Catherine, perhaps because she was Spanish, and he wished to free himself from that influence; perhaps because he loved another by whom he might secure a male heir to his throne; perhaps because his conscience troubled him for marrying his brother's widow; and *perhaps* all these motives worked upon him. But the pope, to whom he applied for a divorce, would not grant it; and Henry VIII. began to array himself and England against the papacy. The king wanted the church purified, like More and Erasmus; but he was not a *reformer* like Luther, against whose work he wrote a bitter attack. He still styled himself "Defender of the Faith." All through his reign he was equally opposed to papal aggressions and Protestant reforms. To stand by the popes, and to advocate radical reforms cost many men their lives in his day. He was moved by one strong ambition: to make England great and independent of Rome. Linked with this were his base passions and his stubborn will. In every way an autocrat, in many ways an opponent of papal policies, in no way a consistent Protestant.

After several years of strife between pope and king, a crisis came in 1529. In the Parliament then called the English people rallied to the support of Henry VIII. Cromwell, who had come into the king's confidence after the fall of Cardinal Wolsey, in 1529, urged

him to ignore Rome and apply to the ecclesiastical courts of the land for a divorce. This was done and the divorce was granted in 1532. A small matter and a vulgar incident in a way; but over it arose a momentous issue that concerned every Englishman. And into this breach between king and pope rushed all the reforming tendencies of the people, many of whom were far in advance of the court. Parliament began to pass laws against Romish influences, which culminated in 1534 in the Act of Supremacy. This marks a turning point in the history of the nation and its religious life. By it the king was made the head of the church, and dependence upon Rome was brought to an end. The English churches were still under a despot, but his was a despotism that represented their own national life rather than an Italian court.

In the closing years of the great Parliament of 1529, that is about 1536, three memorable things were done: (1) Tyndale's English Bible, circulating in secret for ten years, was put in every church for free reading,—a greater stroke for radical reformation than the king appreciated. (2) "Ten Articles" on religion were issued, insisting upon Scriptural preaching, avoidance of abuse in administering the sacraments, and renunciation of allegiance to the papacy. A step forward, but far behind Luther, and farther still behind Calvin. The church service was now in the English language. (3) The destruction of the great monasteries was vigorously pushed forward. The wrath of the English people had long been gather-



ing against the monks, many of whom were ignorant and vicious, all of whom were indolent. While the king's motive in confiscating these properties was far from noble, and the conduct of the populace was often shamefully coarse and cruel, still the monasteries by their corruptions deserved rough discipline; though not perhaps the destruction which visited them. The celibacy of the clergy came to an end in this connection, and monastic vows were freely broken.

The Catholic reaction, a few years later, was a natural protest against these severe measures. In the last years of Henry VIII., Catholics who denied his supremacy and more radical reformers (both More and Cromwell were beheaded) were dragged to the stake. In supporting the king against the pope, Englishmen had temporarily lost some of their ancient liberties. The general state of religion was deplorable. But two great things had been done: The foreign yoke had been broken; the beginnings of a national church had been made.

### III. THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

It was just because the movement was so intensely national and political that the English church, which came more definitely into shape under Henry's son, Edward VI. (1547—1553), was a *compromise*, in organization, creed and ritual. The king took the place of the pope in a way; he was head of the church so far as the appointment of its chief ecclesiastics, but he had no definite religious duties, and in many matters the wish of Parliament must be consulted. The old

*Episcopal* system was continued; the archbishop of Canterbury remained *primate*; under the other bishops were grouped the familiar orders of the clergy. Great emphasis was placed on "apostolic succession," but all this machinery was no part of the Roman hierarchy. This church was *national*; a part of the government, supported by public taxes, and its bishops members of the house of Lords. It claimed to be *Catholic*, but not *Roman*; *Episcopal* and *Apostolic*, but not *papal*.

In its ritual the same spirit of compromise is present. After working over the matter for several years, slowly making changes as the popular religious opinion declared itself, and always following a cautious inclusive policy, the *Book of Common Prayer* came into use in 1548, in almost its present shape. Its form and language are in general agreement with one of the ancient rituals of the land. The chief difference lies in the way it is used: not by the priest alone, but by all the people. The congregation is made active in the service; it is *common prayer*. The officiating minister is a priest in special dress, but the sacramental theory and function have been lessened. Instead of the *mass* there is a popular *communion*, with the use of both elements. *Saints' Days* are observed, but in a less superstitious manner; prayers to saints and the Virgin Mary, the use of relics and indulgences, the appeal to purgatory,—these, and some other things, were cut off. All allusions to the pope were dropped.

The "Prayer Book" is an evolution from

the Catholic ritual long used in England. Some things were left out, and a few things added, in obedience to the Protestant spirit; and, rendered into a peculiarly stately and noble English, it has afforded a dignified and yet popular form of worship in which millions have found comfort and helpfulness.

The creed of the church was slowly evolved, in accordance with a sober, practical English desire to be moderate and inclusive. The start was made in the *Ten Articles* of 1536; the final form was reached in the *Thirty-Nine Articles*, issued in the fifth year of Elizabeth (1563). The great creeds of the early church, from the Nicene to the so-called Athanasian (ninth century), are included. The use and authority of the Bible are defined; the number and nature of the sacraments (Baptism and Communion) are described; the orders, ordination, and duties of the clergy are established; the means of salvation and the elements of saving faith are briefly outlined.

These Articles run, in the main, very close to the early Catholic statements, with here and there a change due to Luther, and others to Calvin. But nowhere is there any such emphasis as the former put on "justification by faith," or as the latter put on "election." In all those years England had no religious genius, no masterful theologian. The aim was to make a statement upon which as many as possible could unite; and Cranmer, the leader, was more politician than philosopher. The desire for compromise shows through the brief and somewhat dim phrases. Here has been the strength and weakness

of the *Anglican* church. The dominant spirit of compromise, with the indefiniteness of its dogmatic formulas, has kept a great variety of parties within its fold. Sobriety and moderation have flowed from the same source. On the other hand, these very things have stood in the way of great intensity and enthusiasm of religious conviction, which have had to flow out and make a separate home in non-conformist churches.

Under Edward VI. these more positive results in the direction of a religious reformation were worked out. The reaction under Mary interrupted, but did not destroy, this work. A great many Protestants were put to death (Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer were notable examples), as Catholics had been executed during the preceding reign. The heart and mind of England had, however, become alienated from Rome. When Elizabeth came to the throne in 1558, church affairs settled substantially into the shape that they had assumed under Edward VI. One noble thing this great queen did: She practically stopped the putting of people to death simply for heresy. She saw that too much blood had been shed over religious differences. The one mighty purpose running through her devious schemes and large endeavors was to make England great and independent of foreign control. In carrying out this purpose, circumstances more than convictions led Elizabeth to a more pronounced Protestant position, in alliance with all the reformers of the continent. Through the aid of Archbishop Parker, a wise but not great man, she removed opposition and brought the

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English people into general loyalty to the Prayer Book and Articles. This was done more by the spirit of her administration than by new laws. The churches were being knit together into a strong English institution, but it was not an age of religious creativeness. The Elizabethan period was great on its secular rather than its religious side. Its great names are Raleigh, Bacon, Shakespeare.

#### IV. A NATIONAL CHURCH: MERITS AND DEFECTS.

While the Catholic church was supreme, the national sentiment had little chance to make itself felt in religious affairs. But patriotism was one of the forces which created what we call the Reformation. And it was among the English that this influence first produced a distinctly *national* church. It was later that Lutheranism became the national faith of Denmark, Sweden, Norway and parts of Germany, that the Presbyterian faith became national in Holland and Scotland. But in none of these countries did the Protestant religion make so definite a national establishment as the church of England. And the advantages of an established state religion are chiefly these: It binds up the whole life of the people with the interests and sanctions of piety. It carries patriotism over into the church, while it carries religious enthusiasm over into the affairs of government. It gives to religion a position of honor and stability, a tone of authority and importance. The English church has been a stout prop to the throne; the crown lends dignity to the affairs of religion.

And yet, there is another side to this matter. An established church is not flexible enough to accommodate the growth that accompanies life. Some remain inside and stop growing, others leave in order to grow. In this way indifference and schism arise; and these actual results largely destroy the theoretical benefits claimed for a state church. Much of the best national life of England is not in its national church. In the wide existence of dissent, the established church ceases to be truly national. Moreover, an established religion is always in danger of sinking from the high level of personal conviction to mere formality and nominal assent. Because *established*, the religious life is not freshly or powerfully experienced. Wherever a faith is established, the progress that makes a nation strong produces *heretics*; and it is unfortunate to have new thought in opposition to religion. Also, a state church brings the management of religious affairs out of the realm of spirituality into the baser arena of politics. Present experience clearly shows that the cause of religion is harmed rather than helped by being made an affair of government. Our own nation has proved that religion is strongest where it is left free to win its way by its own merits.

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See Seeböhm, "Protestant Revolution," pp. 166-193, for a brief, and Fisher, "The Reformation," pp. 316-334, for a fuller narration of these events; Herford, "Story of Religion in England," chaps. xvii.-xxii., is very interesting; Beard, "The Reformation," chap. ix., is a valuable discussion; Taine, "English Literature," book II., chap. v., throws many interesting sidelights upon this period; Green, "English People," vol. II. pp. 67-329, sets this movement on the broad stage of English History; Froude, "History of England," chaps. III. IV. VI. X., paints a graphic picture favorable to the Protestants, while Alzog, "Church History," vol. III. pp. 190-216, gives the Catholic side; Blunt, "Reformation in England," and Perry, "Reformation in England," are both standard manuals.



## QUESTIONS ON LESSON XX.

"We appreciate the stone axe, but we do not use it."

1. *Transformations of Christianity.*—Life, growth, always involves what? How explain the apparent downward growths of Christianity? How interpret human history as a whole?

Its first transformation? The need thus served? And the result? Its second transformation? Need thus served? Result? Its third transformation? Need thus served? Result?

2. *Use of Scripture for Dogma.*—The great new school-book of the Protestant? What supreme need was it made to serve? The Protestants' three errors: (1) That the Bible was an infallible revelation: what followed from that? (2) That the Bible held the true creed and salvation lay in believing it: what followed? (3) The Bible was interpreted all awry: what two malformations of doctrine resulted? The system of theology thus built up of Bible texts—how is it described?

3. *Creeeds of Dort and Westminster.*—Scholasticism again, Protestant instead of Catholic; but how did the Protestant kind differ from the Catholic as to basis and aim? What beliefs in the old Church creeds did the Protestants take for granted? And what beliefs did they develop in their own new creeds? The Lutheran creeds were adopted where? The Calvinistic creeds adopted where?

Who led a revolt against Calvinism? The *Synod of Dort*,—how long before the Pilgrims sailed? What were the "Five Points" of Calvinism there set forth? Fate of Arminius and his followers? And their after-influence?

*The Westminster Assembly*,—where held, and how long after Dort? The Westminster Confession,—its teachings? Its merits? Its three grave defects? (Answer this last question carefully.)

4. *The New Christianity.*—What has become of these sixteenth and seventeenth century creeds? The great mistake that underlies them all?

Describe the New Christianity:—

Its relation to Jesus

Its service of God

Its supreme emphasis

Its source of authority

Its central rule

Its basis of organization

Its chart of life

Its scriptures

Its appeal and insistence

Its fellowship

Its use of the Bible

Its saints

Its plan of salvation

Its ideal

[Better learn by heart the last paragraph of this lesson.]



## Third Period: Christianity since the Reformation: A. D. 1517—A. D. 1789.

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### LESSON XX.

#### Protestant Creed-Making.

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**Chronology: Seventeenth Century.** At the beginning of this century occurred: The final triumph of the Netherlands; the English Settlements in North America; King James's Version of the Bible (1611). Later came: The destruction of the Huguenots at Rochelle, 1628; the Thirty Years' War; the Civil War in England. At the close of the century French intolerance produced the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685), and English liberality secured the Act of Toleration (1689). The two dogmatic centers: the Synod of Dort, 1618—1619; the Westminster Assembly, 1643—1647.

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#### I. TRANSFORMATIONS OF CHRISTIANITY.

Growth is the law of religions as of plants. The very process of life means change; and to live and grow a religion has to outgrow its earlier forms and faiths. To do its work in the world, a church has to accommodate itself to new conditions, undertake new tasks, and revise its teachings to include discoveries. This growth is sometimes downward, as well as upward; and what, at times, has seemed a decline of faith, or a corruption of the church, was a more serviceable form of Christianity for the passing moment. To live, it had to meet lower conditions; to lift people from those conditions, it had to stoop temporarily to that lower level. What has appeared like a transformation backward has in the end resulted in general progress. We must look upon the whole history of humanity as a divine education. God is in all the processes, and out of them all comes a fruit-

age of good. We must appreciate the utility in former days of what is now dead. But we are under no obligation to use today what was once of service. We appreciate the stone ax, but we do not use it. What we call Christianity is a growth like other religions. It has constantly been changing. To live, it had to grow.

The first great transformation of Christianity was *theological*. The new faith had to accommodate itself to the intellectual conditions of the world into which it entered. It had to lay hold of the riches of Greek philosophy and incorporate them into its own life. It had to give some fresh answer to the old problems of providence and the Godhead. In doing this, the center of interest and emphasis changed from the life and gospel of Jesus to speculations about his relation to the Almighty. In some ways this seems a corruption of the original Christianity; but it was an inevitable, and for the time being a fruitful, transformation. It was, however, a radical change in the spirit and activity of the church: from moral to theological questions; from "character-making" to "theory-making." We have seen how it gave us the Nicene and other creeds.

Later came a *sacramental* transformation of Christianity. The energies of the church turned away from the training of people in conduct to the administration of sacraments, which fed the sense of mystery and rolled back their superstitious fears. In this the church was doing something for public order and personal righteousness, but by crude symbolisms such as fitted the conditions of

its members. After the Reformation, came another transformation of Christianity among Protestants. The study of the Bible for dogma led to an elaborate "*creed-making*," which dried up the heart and arrested the progress of mankind.

## II. THE USE OF SCRIPTURE FOR DOGMA.

The early Reformers not only used the Bible more extensively, but more freely, than the Catholics. Its study was a method of religious education. The impulse in this line led thousands to learn to read that they might know the Oracles of God. Its worst parts were better than the lives of the saints that people had been reading. Its best parts—prophecy, psalm and parable—were freighted with vastly higher moral and intellectual influences than the mass or the confessional. Its power as a natural educational agency was great. We do not have to call in a miraculous factor to account for the impression which it made and the life which it created.

The use made of the Bible by Luther, Zwingli and Calvin was more rational than the methods of their followers. In conflict with Rome, the Protestants needed a supreme authority; and that authority they found in Scripture, which they made into a final and infallible standard of faith and practice. The more the Bible was used as an *authority*, the more the method of study became *dogmatic*. It ceased to be a fountain of inspiration and came to be an arsenal of texts for the support of an opinion. People then knew but little of the true origin or real nature of the writ-

ings of the Bible. The method of interpretation was unscientific and irrational. The very benefits derived from it, blinded them to its defects and limitations.

By the end of the sixteenth century the common Protestant use of the Bible had become well established; and it proceeded upon three false assumptions:—

1. Being regarded as an *Infallible Revelation*, all its parts were made equally important. Grotesque fancies were imported into its obscure phrases; its outgrown teachings and ancient errors were set forth as obligatory; more emphasis was often put on its incidental than on its essential elements.

2. The study of the Bible was *dogmatic*. It was the popular impression that salvation lies in belief in a creed, and that the true creed is described in Scripture. Men went to its texts for theological opinions. This use of it brought into prominence its more obscure and speculative passages to the neglect of its ethical teachings. And as their method of interpretation was so faulty, what the Reformers set forth as "Biblical Truth" was often one of its erroneous teachings or something wholly foreign to its pages.

3. These dogmatic Protestants, more intent on the *creed-teachings* than the *conduct-values* of the Bible, misused its language, either to construct from it a theory of human nature without reference to other facts, or to formulate a description of the Godhead where it had no bearing. It is surprising to note how these creed-makers took a few figurative scriptural phrases, descriptive of *some men*, as an exhaustive definition of hu-

man nature, when a simple appeal to life would have shown them that mankind is infinitely better than what these dogmas assert. It is more surprising to note how they took other Biblical phrases to frame a complete description of the mechanism and purposes of God, using the language for more than what it was intended to teach and going into regions of mystery where rational reverence allows no such dogmatic trespassing.

It was not strange that this "Biblical Dogmatism" arose; it was the perversion of a good use of the Bible which had been spiritually fruitful. But it is difficult to find anything more unattractive than the vast systems of theology then constructed from Biblical texts. This was a new and unlovely, if vigorous, form of Christianity. The subjects were repulsive,—total depravity, the wrath of God, the torments of the lost. Or trivial,—did the decree of redemption come before or after the permissive decree of the fall? Or illegitimate because beyond the limit of rational discussion,—was the blood of Christ shed for all men or only the elect? Or heart-rending,—are there non-elect infants who are damned without a chance of being saved? The method of study was unscientific. It tore texts from their natural connection and piled them up in support of propositions foreign to the thought of the scriptural writers. The spirit of the discussion was always dogmatic, generally arrogant, sometimes very abusive. Some of the worst passions of the human breast played through these theological debates.

## III. THE CREEDS OF DORT AND WESTMINSTER.

In this way grew up a Protestant *Scholasticism* as barren and acrid as the Catholic scholasticism of Anselm and Aquinas. With this difference: The new creed was drawn out from Scripture rather than from church traditions, to illustrate a scheme of atonement rather than to enforce papal power and sacramental rite. On the problems that vexed the early church—the Trinity and the Nature of Christ—there was very little discussion. The creeds of the early church were taken for granted. At one time in Germany there were various diverging lines of dissent, but they were harmonized in the Formula of Concord, 1577, or stamped out by an enforced conformity to the Heidelberg Catechism, 1563, both of which followed the main ideas of Luther. The powerful teachings of Calvin completely controlled the opinions of the Protestants in Switzerland, France, Holland and Scotland, and strongly influenced the English mind.

About the year 1600, Arminius (1560—1609) came to the front in Holland, with more generous views of human nature, giving freedom to man's will; and also more generous views of God's purposes, giving universal scope to the atoning blood of Christ. His followers took a definite stand against Calvinism (1610), and came to be called *Remonstrants*. They were the liberals of their day, and of their number were such men as Grotius and Barneveldt. To put an end to these heresies, a company of great theologians was called together at a Synod in Dort on Nov. 13, 1618. A set of dogmatic

decrees were formulated, which asserted the most rigid Calvinism: The total depravity of man, and the complete paralysis of his will; the election of some to salvation and others to damnation without regard to their personal merits; the atonement of Jesus simply for the elect; the irresistible character of saving grace. And yet they said that man was to blame if he was lost! Surely, a loveless, unreal and contradictory scheme! Two hundred Arminian ministers were driven out of their places. But the Remonstrants continue to exist in the Netherlands. The more liberal views of Arminius have had great influence in the theological world, having been made the creed of the Methodists by John Wesley. Everywhere they have served as a stepping stone to a more rational Christianity.

When the Puritans rose up against Charles I. in England, in seeking friends for their cause, they came under the influence of the Presbyterians of Scotland. The Parliament, in opposition to the king, called an assembly of divines to meet at Westminster to reform the church. It met in 1643, composed of about seventy members, and remained in session for nearly four years. The chief debate occurred over the form of church government, but the Presbyterian system was adopted, under the pressure of Scotch influence but against the protest of some of the most eminent Englishmen, such as Milton and Cromwell.

The Confession of Faith set forth by the Westminster Assembly is a clear and strong exposition of Calvinism. It is a classic in

its way, and has had immense influence upon Protestants, being accepted as a standard of belief not only by Presbyterians but by the strict Orthodox generally. Its merits lie in the rigorous character of its logic, the clearness of its statements, and the solemn dignity of its spirit. It represents a thorough but not extreme Calvinism. The fall of man in Adam, the corruption of human nature, particular election, a sacrificial atonement, the damnation of the heathen and non-elect infants, the impossibility of salvation by good works, the infallibility of Scripture, and the eternity of hell-torments are its chief doctrinal teachings.

The defects of this Confession are obvious: (1) While professing to be simply a logical arrangement of the teachings of Scripture, in reality it over emphasizes some of the more imperfect ideas in the Bible, it misinterprets many passages, and it largely neglects the noblest parts. It makes hardly any reference to the teachings of Jesus. (2) It practically destroys both the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man,—the very heart of the gospel. (3) Its teachings run counter to the facts of nature and human life. Science discloses a universe wholly unlike the one implied by its language, a human nature vastly different from what it describes, an origin of man totally unlike its fiction respecting the fall of Adam. Biblical scholarship sweeps aside its dogma of infallibility as untrue and the majority of its interpretations as erroneous. Historical science rejects the miracles upon which it bases so much, disallows the supernatural character of Jesus which is its



central proposition, and finds among the heathen a goodness and piety which it denies.

#### IV. THE NEW CHRISTIANITY.

The one great mistake of those Protestants, so intent on *creed-making*, was their assumption that salvation lies in belief in dogmas, and that the religion of the Bible is a system of theological opinions. This dogmatic form of Christianity the world has largely outgrown. The ancient creeds are kept in the constitution of the churches, but little attention is paid to them. The most popular and powerful preachers of all sects either ignore or deny the dogmas once considered so important. The religious books now most widely read are devoted to other themes. The modern mind takes no interest in the problems which were uppermost at Dort and Westminster. Men have moved into a new world, vastly more religious, where these things seem false or trivial.

The "New Christianity," rising all about us, is the simple but mighty gospel of Jesus, enriched by Science and Democracy, enforced by the Philanthropic Impulse, and operated through the Educational Method. It puts character-building above creed-making; deeds of love above dogmas of wrath; service above sacrament; obedience to moral law above belief in theological statements. It makes the Golden Rule central; it uses the Sermon on the Mount rather than the Nicene Creed as the chart of life; it appeals to love instead of fear. It encourages growth and discovery rather than conformity of opinion; it pleads for brotherhood and co-opera-

tion; it insists on freedom; it uses the Bible, not to make a creed, but to enrich a life. The New Christianity finds the service of God in helpfulness to man, the way of salvation in the path of righteousness, the sure salvation in perfected manhood, the only authority in love and reason, an adequate basis of religious organization in a common purpose to be good and do good. All truth, its Scripture; all men, its field and fellowship; all loving souls, its saints and ministers; a kingdom of heaven on earth for all, its ideal and aspiration.

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See Allen, "Christian History," vol. III. pp. 59-73, for some judicious remarks respecting the past and future of Calvinism; Fisher, "The Reformation," pp. 433-439, 459-475, narrates the facts briefly; Schaft, "Creeds of Christendom," vol. I. pp. 508-524, 701-760, gives the standard History of the Synod of Dort and the Westminster Assembly; Beard, "The Reformation," chap. VIII., discusses Protestant Scholasticism clearly and fairly; Buckle, "History of Civilization," vol. II. chap. V., shows us the fruits of Dogmatism in Scotland; Jonathan Edwards, "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God," illustrates the climax of the dogmatic spirit; Matthew Arnold, "St. Paul and Protestantism," is a powerful exposition of the errors of the creed-makers; Crooker, "New Bible and its New Uses," chap. III., discusses the authority of Scripture.



## QUESTIONS ON LESSON XXI.

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If possible, get a picture of Saint-Gauden's statue of the "Puritan," at Springfield, Mass. (In *Christian Union* for Feb. 27, 1892.)

1. *Rise of the Puritans.*—Is "Puritan" with you a name to smile at, or a name to honor?

How much Church Reform did average Englishmen want in Luther's century? And how much more did the "Puritan" want? The price of this "more"? Were his trifles, trifles? Who was the first Puritan of note? His fate? How did Catholic Mary's burnings strengthen the Puritan party? Was Elizabeth Catholic, Protestant, or Puritan? What was she more than either? Her motive for requiring uniformity? Her way of enforcing it?

What does stanza xv. of Gray's "Elegy" mean? Whose crusade against the Puritan ended in the latter's victory? Was the fate of King Charles deserved? Show pictures of the two great leaders, and sketch their life stories. How long was Puritanism the Established Church of England? In what Confession is its creed set forth? What blessings did the Puritans give England? But what showed that England was not ready yet for "government of the people by the people?"

2. *Independents.*—What two kinds of Puritan? No difference in doctrine,—they differed, then, in what? The two independences of Independency? One great superiority over Presbyterianism and Episcopacy,—what did it secure, and what stop? "A great discovery"—was the discoverer a great man? What sects today are Independents? Were Cromwell, Milton and the Pilgrim Fathers Presbyterians, or Independents? When royalty came back to England, what became of Puritanism?

3. *The Pilgrims.*—Their three homes,—tell the story that named them "Pilgrims." The outlook for Protestantism in Europe, when they left it? Their motive in coming to New England? What were the famous Goodbye words of Robinson, as they left Holland? How did the Plymouth Pilgrims differ from the men who settled Boston ten years later? What great outcomes to America, England and the World resulted from these two little settlements? Have you "Mayflower" blood in you? Don't you wish you had?

4. *Greatness of Puritanism.*—Now, with such a history and such results, why does anyone smile at the Puritan? His short-comings—what were they? His virtues, what? What does the phrase, "defects of one's qualities," mean? His "dominant characteristic"? This connected how with his Calvinism? Was it his Calvinism that made the sixteenth and seventeenth century Puritan such a hero in England, Scotland, Holland and France? What did he leave as his bequests to us? How is it that to this dogmatist we can owe so much religious progress and "liberal Christianity"?

## Third Period: Christianity since the Reformation: A. D. 1517—A. D. 1789.

### LESSON XXI.

#### Puritan and Pilgrim.

Chronology: From Bishop Hooper, 1550, to the death of Cromwell, 1658. The three great Independents: Robert Browne, 1550—1631(?); Oliver Cromwell, 1599—1658; John Milton, 1608—1674. The two Pilgrim leaders: John Robinson, 1575—1625, in Leiden after 1609; and William Brewster, 1560—1644, in Plymouth, New England, after 1620.

#### I. THE RISE OF THE PURITANS.

The English people in the sixteenth century moved very slowly and cautiously toward reformation in religion. The Prayer Book and Articles were produced by a spirit of compromise. There was no great religious genius or spiritual leader to do a radical work. The people were clearly against the pope, but they were not clear as to the particular changes to be made in the forms and faiths of the church. While hating Rome, they loved the old religion as a whole: the bishop and his vestments,—only he must not be a servant of the papacy,—the altar and its ceremonials, but the idea of the *mass* was not liked. Three things were commonly taken for granted: The church must be episcopal in form, Scriptural in teaching, and a state establishment.

But from the first there were those who wanted a more radical and thorough reformation. The example of Luther tended in this direction. The teaching of Calvin was more

decisive in the same line. Many who raised their voice in advocacy of such measures were brought to the block or the stake as disloyal or heretical. And yet, the demand kept growing for a *purification* of the church from all pagan and papal corruptions. What these intenser reformers wanted was a more Biblical Christianity, with more definite theology and deeper earnestness. The movement which they represented was a *moral reaction* against formalism and outwardness in religion, and toward piety as a personal conviction and heart life; against the temporizing and compromising spirit and toward sincerity and enthusiasm; against the sensual, pleasure-loving habits of the time and toward an austere and serious walk and conversation in life.

The first to make a notable stand was John Hooper. When chosen bishop of Gloucester, he refused to wear the ordinary vestments at his ordination. He wanted religion to be considered more a matter of righteousness than raiment. He at last partially submitted, and served as bishop for five years, 1550—1555. But Mary, as soon as she could after coming to the throne, had Hooper burned at the stake, where he was very brave, and where, after the slow fire had tortured him for nearly an hour, he cried out: "For God's sake, good people, let me have more fire!"

Now, those who insisted, like Hooper, on purifying the church came to be called *Puritans*, a word that became a party name about 1564. During the bloody days of Mary's reign, many of them left the country and

found a refuge with Calvin at Geneva; and in that atmosphere their Puritan instincts and tendencies were greatly strengthened. Some went back to England, when Elizabeth was crowned, expecting to do great things. But while the queen was a Protestant, she had no patience with these Puritans. She was too much of a politician to appreciate the position of those who laid so much stress upon the importance of personal convictions and mere theological opinions. Moreover, she was wise enough to see that it would be dangerous for the English people to split into a lot of warring sects; and she saw also that *bishops*, not too intense but moderate, were necessary props of her own throne. The "Act of Uniformity" (1559) carried out this policy, and by it the state repressed these Puritan tendencies. The fear that Spain might conquer, if there was division at home, was a restraint in the same direction.

But this thought about the church lived on in quiet places; and in 1570 Thomas Cartwright, a professor at Cambridge, made a powerful exposition of Puritanism, which was Calvin's creed and polity given a serious, practical English dress. Cartwright's words stirred the smoldering fires to a spreading flame. These Puritans began to be hunted down and put to death as obnoxious sectaries. Notably Barrowe, Greenwood, and Penry in 1593.

The things which the Puritans wanted abolished, and for opposition to which they were put to death, were, among others, the kneeling posture at the Lord's supper, the

sign of the cross in baptism, and the use of the surplice. All mere externals of no consequence, it may be said. But the Puritan saw infinite importance in just these *little things*. Life to him was a serious concern of mind and heart. To put a serious conscientiousness into such little things was the very essence of Puritanism. And we must remember that these small matters were but the outcroppings of deep and fundamental differences in ideal and spirit of life, which separated them from their countrymen in general. To overthrow the Puritans and win the people to the policy of the Anglican Church, Bishop Richard Hooker, in 1594, published his "Ecclesiastical Polity," a work of great eloquence, learning, wisdom and breadth, which then made a profound impression, and which has ever since remained the standard exposition of the policy and spirit of the English church.

Hooker represented an ideal, nobler in many ways than that of the Puritan; and yet, there was a great work for the latter to do. Under James I. Puritanism took a bolder stand. But the chief interests for a time were political. The people were pressing forward the authority of Parliament against the prerogatives of the crown. Under his son, Charles I., this conflict was to come to a crisis under the leadership, on the part of the people, of such men as Pym and Hampden. In 1633 Laud, as archbishop, intent on uniformity of ceremonial (as Puritans were intent on uniformity of doctrines), organized a crusade against Puritanism. To him the chief work of the church was to engage people



in a stately and beautiful worship. He had no respect for persons who made so much ado about their theological opinions. The Laudian persecution of the Puritans is known as *thorough*: an effort to stamp out all opposition to the full and faithful observance of the regulations of the Prayer Book.

But the Puritan spirit was ripening, and soon it crowded England with great events. In 1634, broke forth the mighty verse of young Milton, bearing on the wings of song a plea for a purer and deeper faith. In 1640, came the Long Parliament, striking down the king's favorite (Strafford), asserting its own authority against the throne, especially in matters of taxation, and dragging Laud to death (1644). In the civil war, breaking out in 1642, Cromwell soon went to the head by the victories at Marston Moor and Naseby. The Westminster Assembly, called in 1643, made Calvinism the faith and Presbyterianism the church order of England,—a triumph of Puritanism, but not in its best form. The king's execution in 1649, opened the door for the Commonwealth, which, after five years, gave place to the Protectorate. And in all that score of years, when the Puritans were laying some of the deep foundations, not only of English liberty, but of representative government, of freedom of speech and opinion, and of rational religion, Cromwell and Milton, men of grave faults, but of vast genius and tremendous power, were the guiding spirits.

## II. THE INDEPENDENTS.

Among the Puritans there was generally

no thought of a separation of church and state. They purposed to purify religion by state laws. But about 1580, Robert Browne ventured upon a new theory, guided by the New Testament teachings, hints from Wiclif and influences from Holland. His conception of the church was new to the time, but destined to exert an immense influence. It was set forth in a little pamphlet, entitled, "True and False Declaration" (1584). It teaches these things briefly and yet clearly: (1) Each local congregation of believers is in itself a true church, absolutely independent of all other churches, and all its members equal. (2) These churches must be distinct and separate from the state, growing in the line of their own life under Christ alone; receiving no aid from the state and allowing the magistrate no authority in their affairs.

Browne's plan would sweep away both Episcopal and Presbyterian forms of organization, putting an end to hierarchy and priesthood. It would make religion a matter of personal conviction, the church a religious democracy, all church officials the elected servants of a single congregation. In this way reform could be thorough and continuous, as each congregation, free from state control and from cramping association with other churches, could build up a pure religious life of its own. It would give to all freedom of growth, and it would put a stop to persecution, as the state would retire from religious affairs. All these things seem familiar to us, being a part of our common life; but they represented a great discovery then, by which we have been infinitely enriched.

Browne, after sowing these seed-truths, sank back into obscurity within the arms of the Anglican church,—a sad fate, probably due to the giving way of his mind. His followers were long called *Separatists*, then *Independents*; in New England, *Congregationalists*. These Independents were a small minority in the Westminster Assembly, but many of the best things done under Cromwell and Milton, who belonged to the Independent wing of Puritanism, were due to them. When royalty came back in 1660, in the person of Charles II., they went with others into that *Non-Conformity* which still exists.

### III. THE PILGRIMS.

Just after Elizabeth died, a little group of those Puritans who were Separatists came together at Scrooby, in the north-east of England, and formed a church after the plan set forth by Robert Browne. The basis of union was a simple covenant, or statement of religious purpose, that is still in use by the church in Plymouth, Mass., which continues its life and organization, though now Unitarian in belief. Finding themselves insecure in England, the members of this church went as *Pilgrims* to Holland in 1608, and settled in Leiden in the next year. Later, in 1620, a part of them under William Brewster sailed for America and laid the foundations of New England at Plymouth. John Robinson, the greatest man in the company, remained behind and soon died. But soon after settling in Leiden he wrote a book, "Justification of Separation," which shows him to have been a strong and liberal thinker,

who clearly saw the advantage to both of a separation of church and state, and who also understood the value of reason in religion. The fact is worthy note that these Independents included many University men, and nearly all from Cambridge.

It is not necessary to retell here the familiar story of the Pilgrim Fathers. But brief allusion must be made to the importance of their venture in the growth of Christianity and the progress of civilization. When they set out on their voyage, the outlook for Protestantism and civil freedom was not bright. The efforts at reform had been sternly repressed in Spain and Italy; the Huguenots were on the eve of destruction in France; the Jesuits were stamping out the Liberals in Poland; the disastrous Thirty Years' War was in progress in Germany; the battle for civil and religious freedom had not been won in England; with the exception of the doubtful experiment in Virginia, all America was practically French or Spanish, and therefore Catholic; brave little Holland was still a shelter for persecuted Protestants, and a fair degree of toleration had there existed, but even this was threatened by the bigotry of the Synod of Dort that had just adjourned. The horizon was surely dark! When we remember how the founding of Plymouth by the Pilgrims led to the supremacy of England in North America; how their spirit went to the making of New England, and New England to the making of this nation; how this American civilization has helped Old England and everywhere liberated and enriched humanity; and how the American Idea—"Separation of

\* Church and State: man, a free citizen in one and a free soul in the other"—is reshaping and renewing Christianity to new tasks and with new life,—when we see all this and remember that much of the seed from which it grew came over in the Mayflower (and with those of kindred spirit who followed in its path), our hearts burn with gratitude!

#### IV. THE GREATNESS OF PURITANISM.

From the vantage ground of the present time, it is easy to criticise the Puritans. With the exception of the Pilgrims, who never engaged in persecutions, they often violated their own principles. Their opposition to art and amusement was unreasonable and harmful. Their gloomy temper, rigorous observance of the Sabbath, extreme dogmatism, acrid and petty controversial habit, and above all their misuse of Scripture, going to it for dogma and making its worst texts into bonds and yokes,—these were serious blemishes. They put too much emphasis upon mere opinions, giving to belief the prominence rightfully due to conduct and character.

But when all these defects have been noted, the moral and intellectual greatness of the Puritan stands out clear and colossal. The Puritan spirit has been immensely fruitful of those things which we most prize to-day, and most need everywhere: the pure home, the common school, the God-fearing citizen, the humane neighbor, the conscientious Christian. For Puritanism was really a new form of Christianity, whose dominant characteristic was *conscientiousness*. Those

people, feeling the nearness of God and the greatness of the soul, looked upon human life as a matter of great concern. Spurning ease and pleasure and frivolity, they addressed themselves to their duties with tremendous earnestness, anxious to do what seemed right. With a strong feeling for order, dignity and sobriety, their faults were the exaggeration, largely, of these virtues. The Independents especially, by keeping church and state apart and making the local congregation free and independent, kept the door open for the Holy Spirit and gave man the opportunity and incentive of religious progress.

Out of these Puritan principles, liberated from the earlier narrowness by the education of school and experience and enriched by the philanthropy and democracy implicated in the movement from the beginning, have ripened in America a citizenship that is free, intelligent and earnest, a literature that combines grace and purity; and a religious life that is at once both rational and reverent. This Liberal Christianity uses all of science and scholarship for its altar fires. It puts the Bible to most spiritual uses for increase of Inner Life. It finds in Jesus a revelation of our possibilities and an inspiration to their realization rather than a sacrificial mediator. And it labors in love to include all souls in its Republic of God. The glory of Puritanism lies in the fact that it made it possible for men to grow into these things.

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See Allen, "Christian History," vol. III, chap. IV., for a vivid description of the principles and policies of the Puritan Common-

wealth; Herford, "Story of Religion in England," Chaps. xxiv., xxv., is graphic and interesting; Gardiner, "Puritan Revolution," gives the best brief story of the Puritans; Dexter, "Story of the Pilgrims," is the freshest and fairest description and estimate; Fisher, "The Reformation," pp. 342-349, 433-443, is an excellent short narration with particular reference to the religious side; Dexter, "Congregationalism as seen in its Literature," Lectures II.—IV., is the standard work on Browne and the Independents; Beard, "The Reformation," pp 320-335, gives many valuable suggestions; Fiske, "Beginnings of New England," chap. II., tells the American side of the story with great clearness; Campbell, "The Puritan," may be consulted with profit; Crooker, "Congregational Polity," *New World*, June, 1803, discusses the importance to the cause of religious liberty and progress of the Congregational form of church organization.

## QUESTIONS ON LESSON XXII.

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1. *Christianity as a State Religion.*—Is Christianity the religion of Christ? What was the “kingdom of heaven,” as Jesus meant it? And “salvation”? And “glad tidings”? How did he expect these ideas to spread?—Yet what word of his was misused to establish the very opposite ideas? How came the Christian martyrs so quickly to change to persecutors? What is a State Religion? Russia, England, both have one,—but with what difference?

2. *Religion a Monopoly.*—With Priests sole agents of salvation, and Sacraments sole means, what became of Jesus’ religion (God, salvation, Bible, reason) in the Middle Ages? The price of a new thought, new pity, under the Priests’ monopoly?—Trace the rising protest (four centuries) against this monopoly. At what four points did the reformers stop short on the road to free religion? But what did they achieve?

3. *From Toleration to Freedom.*—What makes the story of the Reformation century so “horrible”? Three truths men have to learn before religious liberty can come,—what are they?—“The apostles’ glorious company,”—see how each country furnishes its early apostle of religious liberty,—Italy, England, Switzerland, England again, France, Italy again. And then (next two centuries) the “Ten Great Words” for religious equality,—how many of these by Englishmen? How many by men connected with American history? The great French champion of toleration? The great German? (Better read his “Nathan.”)

What two countries became the earliest homes of religious liberty? When, and how, did France reach partial toleration? And Germany? And England? What remains for England still to do? And how did the United States secure religious freedom? The two men we chiefly thank for it? Which colony, or colonies, were *founded* on this principle? Under our State laws is religious freedom *perfect*?

4. *The Fellowship of Love.*—The title of this lesson? Name the four steps in history that lead up to this title? What is any freedom *for*? Is religion strongest, reverence deepest, where reason is freest? What thing better than itself is freedom in religion sure to lead to? Will Jesus’s gospel be outgrown, or be fulfilled, by the Christianity-to-be? What is the subject of the two and twenty lessons we have now finished? Learn by heart the closing sentence as a watch-word: do you see the “fellowship of love” in it?



## Third Period: Christianity since the Reformation: A. D. 1517—A.D. 1789.

### LESSON XXII.

#### The Liberation of the Gospel from King and Priest.

##### I. CHRISTIANITY AS A STATE RELIGION.

Jesus declared that his kingdom was not of this world. He probably meant that what he had in mind was a spiritual character rather than a political regime. He described the kingdom of heaven in terms of Inner Life. The gospel which he lived and taught was the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man. He affirmed that salvation is life in the spirit, spending itself in service: repentance its beginning, purity its condition, love its motive, growth its method, fruitfulness its test, peace its reward. It is not given as a privilege or monopoly to a few, but all are invited to share it on equal terms. To possess the kingdom of heaven nothing is needed except what the private heart can accomplish. No means need be used except the exercise of the powers belonging to man as a man,—inherent in him as a son of God. The one thing that Jesus most clearly and forcibly taught, what made his teaching *glad tidings*, was the great truth that no temple rite or priestly service is necessary to reach the fellowship and benediction of God. Let man open his heart in love, mercy and forgiveness, and the Father will enter to heal and bless.

Jesus used no force to establish his gospel;

he appealed solely to the love and reason of the individual. He asked no favor of kings to spread this *new life*; it would develop like leaven and triumph by its own inherent power. He sought no soldier to protect the truth from destruction; it was supreme because enthroned in the heart. He devised no political machinery to institute the kingdom among men; it was mightier than throne or temple. And yet, strange to say, out of his mere remark to Simon, whom he called a rock, that he would give to him the keys of the kingdom of heaven, his followers, some centuries after his time, built up the fabric of a vast priesthood, whose head, the pope, called on the rulers of men to do his bidding. All the evidence furnished by the New Testament on this subject shows that no such leadership was exercised by anyone in the primitive church. Surely Peter held no such position; and Paul, our best witness, makes it clear that no such policy was anywhere recognized.

Constantine, by his Edicts near the beginning of the fourth century, slipped the Christian church into the position of a *state religion*, which the worship of the emperor had occupied. Within a few years after toleration was granted to them, Christians were using force to support their views and punishing as heretics those who held different beliefs. From the first there had been different parties, hurling *anathemas* back and forth, but no persecution for heresy until Christianity came itself to the throne. The church was first the ward, then the master, of the state. The interests of Chris-

tianity now became a subject of statecraft. The emperor decided what was the true faith, and he punished those who believed otherwise with banishment, confiscation or death. For more than a thousand years church and state were intimately united. Civil rulers busied themselves with religious matters; the clergy of the church performed judicial duties, and shaped the policies of the state. Every one felt that religion needed the support of the strong arm of the government, and that it was right to suppress unbelief by all the penalties used by the state against crime in general. This view is a working policy in Russia today; the Catholic occupies this ground in theory, if not in practice; and even many Protestants still feel that it is necessary to maintain Christianity as a state establishment.

## II. RELIGION AS THE MONOPOLY OF A PRIEST HOOD.

We have seen how the church was made imperial under Leo I. in the fifth century, and papal under Hildebrand in the eleventh century. We have also seen that along with the growth of a hierarchy, *sacraments* became the only means of salvation. Priests were now the only mediators between man and God. They alone were capable of administering the sacraments, and securing for people pardon, peace and paradise. The gospel which had been presented as a way of life, open equally and freely to all, was set aside, and religion was put in the hands of a special class. The salvation offered by Jesus to every one upon the simple terms

of repentance and righteousness, must now be secured from the priest through a mystical rite to which he alone could give access. The eternal life, which the Master described as within the reach of every returning prodigal, was made dependent upon participation in a church ceremony. The Heavenly Father, placed by Jesus close to every human heart that turns in love toward purity and peace, was removed to a far distance, and no way of approach was left open to him except that over which the clergy stood guard. The Scriptures must not be read freely for increase of Inner Life. If studied at all, only what the church teaches must be found on the Biblical page. The reason must not explore nature; to have a new thought or make a discovery not laid down in the church creed made one a criminal, whose eyes must be plucked out or head cut off to protect the cause of religion! If the heart cried out for direct communion with the living God or sought in new ways to show pity for the Jew or mercy for the poor, some priest was sure to punish the deed of love as a sin against God.

Thus the gospel came under bondage to the state and then to the Roman hierarchy, which made a vassal of both statesman and philosopher. Belief was enforced as compulsory, and the avenues to God were closed to all except those who obeyed the priest and paid him tribute. A more unfortunate condition for religion could not have been devised. A greater perversion of the gospel of Jesus cannot possibly be imagined. What he made accessible to all, the church condi-

tioned upon credulity and servility. The reason and love that he set free were put under deadening bonds. The Father whom he brought near was made difficult to approach. The simple pieties of the heart, in which he located Eternal Life, were supplanted by mystical rites, which the priest administered as the only means by which to reach heaven. The hierarchy had a monopoly of the bread of life, and this power was used most despotically.

A strong protest against all this arose in the south of France in the thirteenth century, but it was silenced by the tortures of the Inquisition. In the fourteenth century, Wiclif, and later, Huss, made earnest efforts to free the soul and liberate the gospel from these bonds. But the new life was smothered in blood. The next century saw an increasing degradation of the church on the one hand, and on the other the rise of a strong secular life. Then came the violent revolt against Rome under Luther, Zwingli and Calvin. The tremendous exertions of the Jesuits to stamp out the new faith were successful in many places; but the Protestant spirit took deep root in northern Germany, in parts of Switzerland, in Great Britain, the Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries. The Reformers did not achieve religious equality or make a free use of reason in religion. Few went so far as to advocate toleration. Fewer still saw the necessity of the separation of church and state. Nearly all believed in an *established* church, and freely called on the government to put down heresy by force.

But this much the Reformers accomplished: They secured the freedom of the people from Rome. They swept aside the priest and opened up a broad highway between the soul and God. They made it possible for the private individual to lay hold of God directly, to drink freely of the water of Eternal Life. The pope had banished the gospel by asserting: Only those who come to me can be saved. And while each reformer felt that his creed was the one way of life, he insisted that the soul can and must go directly to God for saving grace. This was not complete spiritual emancipation, but it took the gospel out of bondage; and it put the human soul where it could grow into perfect religious freedom.

### III. FROM TOLERATION TO FREEDOM.

The great obstacle in the way of progress towards religious liberty was the feeling: I alone have the absolute faith which saves the soul, and the state must enforce it. As long as people generally shared this feeling, the persecution of heretics seemed not only the proper but the merciful thing to do. A change of view at this point had to take place. Men must come to see: (1) That there is no such absolute faith which alone secures salvation. (2) That religion does not need the aid of the state to maintain itself. (3) That the human reason may safely be left free, for God himself abides in the rational soul. These seem like self-evident statements to-day, but it took many generations to work them into government policy and church order; and in a large part of Christendom they are not yet accepted as true.

To find one of the first men who did see these great truths, we have to go back to Marsilius of Padua, who, in 1324, published a book, *Defensor Pacis*, influential and epoch-making, in which he set church and state apart, holding that the state should have no religious functions and the priest no power in secular affairs. This was the prophecy of the modern secular state. It was much in the same line that Wiclif taught, a half century later, in his great book, *De Dominio Divino*. But these great seed truths took root very slowly. Finally, in the space of a little over fifty years, in the sixteenth century, some great events for freedom occurred. Luther's heroism broke the chains of Romish superstition though he failed to make reason free and the gospel independent of the state. But Zwingli came with a more rational spirit; and in England, Thomas More made, in *Utopia*, a plea for religious toleration, which, as statesman, he did not practice. Then Castellio, who looked on in sorrow as Calvin burned Servetus at Geneva in 1553, raised his voice in clear and earnest denunciations of such persecutions for opinion's sake, and advocated the widest liberty of belief for all. About a dozen years later, William of Orange in the Netherlands tried hard to put this theory into practice as a state policy. In Poland, a dozen years still later, the broad-minded Socinus was preaching and practicing this glorious doctrine of freedom in religious belief. In 1568, Sigismund went far beyond his age in an act granting religious freedom to Hungary. Then soon after (1598), in France, came the "Edict of Nantes," which

gave liberty of conscience, but not universal freedom of worship.

All through the sixteenth century, Catholics and Protestants were cruelly persecuting each other.\* Parties within the Romish church and Protestant sects without were doing the same to each other. The story is long and indescribably mournful and horrible. Something was here and there gained for toleration, but the one great truth that would stop the bloodshed had not been established: That the state cease to undertake to regulate the religious opinions of the people. But a beginning in this direction was made by Robert Browne in 1584 by his little pamphlet, "True and False Declaration," in which he argued that church and state be separated for the good of both gospel and commonwealth. Here was a view of religion and the church which took the gospel out of bondage to both priest and politician, and retired the state from all attempts to coerce its citizens in matters of belief.

This was the first of what may be called the "Ten Great Words" for *religious equality*. In 1610, John Robinson followed with his "Justification of Separation," arguing the case more in detail than Browne. Roger Williams, in 1644, put into print in "The Bloody Tenent of Persecution," the doctrine of the non-interference of the state in religion which he had been preaching for ten years. Soon (1647) Jeremy Taylor followed with a similar plea in "The Liberty of Prophesying,"—a plea for a free preacher in a free pulpit. In those days of great things in England for human rights, Cromwell took advanced ground for a



free press and a free religious opinion. John Milton, in 1659, carried forward the cause of freedom, which he had long been advocating, in his work on "Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes." A dozen years later, William Penn said a needed word in defence of the Friends in "Liberty of <sup>\*</sup>Conscience." Then John Locke rounded out this generation of agitation in his "Letters on Toleration" (1689). Nearly a century later we come upon the three giants in this cause of human freedom. Voltaire's intense hatred of bigotry and oppression flashed forth in 1762 in his "Treatise on Toleration." Lessing, in 1779, published the noblest words of all: "Nathan the Wise." And while our Federal Constitution was being framed, the great scientist, Joseph Priestley, penned his "Letter to William Pitt on Toleration." These are the chief literary expressions of that conviction, which finally grew to mastery, that church and state must be separate, and that all men must be left free to form and enjoy their own religious beliefs.

It remains to note a few of the most important steps in the progress towards freedom in religion. By the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), at the close of the Thirty Years' War, it was enacted that Catholics, Lutherans and the Reformed (Calvinists) should enjoy the same civil and political rights in Germany. Just before this, Roger Williams had made religious equality a part of the constitution of Rhode Island. The English Revolution of 1689, with its "Act of Toleration," secured freedom of religious opinion but not equal rights for all in religion. A

century later, the Constitution of the United States (with its amendments) created a purely secular Nation,—we have not always been true to our ideal,—where the churches are left to win their way on their own merits, and where all forms of religious opinion are not only tolerated but treated as equal before the law. This was largely due to the influence of Franklin and Jefferson. Germany in 1849, and Italy about the same time, gave wider application to the principles of religious liberty. In England during the present century religious disabilities have been successively removed from Catholics, Jews, Unitarians and Atheists. The fact that Dissenters were not admitted to the great English universities until a few years ago shows how slowly the human mind has come to a realization of what is just in these matters.

#### IV. THE FELLOWSHIP OF LOVE.

The story of the growth of religious freedom is the history of the victory of what is divinest in man. It has been a gradual progress, carried forward in tears, blood, and heartaches, and won by great heroism and consecration. The first victory was freedom from Rome, that the soul might go directly to God for divine inspiration and fatherly love. The next position to be won was *toleration* for those outside the established church. Then a complete or partial separation of church and state put a stop to the punishment of heresy as a crime. Here and there, equality before the law for all forms of religious faith has been achieved; and in this forward step our own nation

has led the way. This means the liberation of the gospel from king and priest and the emancipation of the soul from all coercion in matters of religion. We see that the gospel does not need government support. Religion is strongest when left to make its own way. Reverence is deepest, where reason is freest.

But there is something better than even religious equality. Freedom from outward restraints is good. Freedom to grow in religion as in everything else, the expectation of spiritual progress (the inspiring plea of Channing), is still better. But the *best* is the universal fellowship that comes from the sincere and hearty appreciation of the good, the true, the beautiful in all religious efforts and aspirations. There is something better than toleration: it is religious sympathy. There is something better than freedom: it is co-operation in love with all for the common good. At last we shall have the gospel of Jesus, not only liberated from king and priest, but enriched by Science, Democracy and Education. A free soul in a free church in a free state!

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See Allen, "Christian History," vol. III., chaps. VII.-IX., for a general survey of this field; Schaff, "Progress of Religious Freedom," is a brief but admirable sketch, illustrated by epoch-making documents; Lecky, "Rationalism," chap. IV., traces the steps by which persecution has been nearly brought to an end; Motley, "Dutch Republic," vol. II., pp. 368-490, describes what was done for religious freedom by William of Orange and others; Beard, "The Reformation," chap. V., traces the increasing use of reason in religion; Herford, "Story of Religion in England," chaps. XXIX., XXXVII., gives the story of religious liberty in Great Britain; Stephen, "English Thought in the Eighteenth Century," may be consulted to advantage; Bluntschli, "Modern State," book I., chaps. V., VI., discusses briefly but wisely the relation of church and state; Channing, "Spiritual Freedom," Mill, "Essay on Liberty," and Brooks, "Tolerance," are brief but powerful words on this subject.

















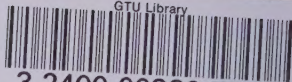
## Graded Sunday School Lessons.

The Western Unitarian Sunday School Society has published a variety of lesson-helps suitable for use in graded schools; most of these are readily adapted to all ages, but those named below seem to be most commonly used with pupils of the ages mentioned:

- 5-10. "Mother Nature's Helpers,  
By A. W. GOULD. 36 lessons.
- 6-14. "In the Home,"  
By W. C. GANNETT. 12 lessons.
- 7-12. "Mother Nature's Children,"  
By A. W. GOULD. \*40 lessons.
- 8-14. "Corner Stones of Character,"  
By KATE GANNETT WELLS. \*12 lessons.
- 8-12. "Stories from Genesis,"  
By MRS. SUNDERLAND. 12 lessons.
- 8- . "Studies of Jesus."  
By NEWTON M. MANN. 18 lessons.
- 8-12. "Ethics of School Life,"  
By JUNIATA STAFFORD. 12 lessons.
- 10-14. "Childhood of Jesus,"  
By W. C. GANNETT. \*24 lessons.
- 10—. "Unity Bible Studies,"  
By FLORENCE BUCK. — lessons.
- 12—. "Beginnings,"  
By A. W. GOULD. \*22 lessons.
- 12—. "Sunday Talks about Sunday,"  
By JENKIN L. JONES. 7 lessons.
- 10—. "Flowering of the Hebrew Religion,"  
By W. W. FENN. \*22 lessons.
- 12—. "Growth of Christianity,"  
By J. H. CROOKER. \*22 lessons.
- 14—. "Flowering of Christianity,"  
By W. C. GANNETT. \*22 lessons.

\*Each of these lessons has ample material for two Sundays' work.

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